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TRANSLATED FROM

THE ORIGINAL GREEK.

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BY

R. SHEPHERD, F.R.S.

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TO THE

MOST NOBLE

THE MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD,

THE ſubſequent pages having already received the approbation of ſo excellent a judge of the ſubject as the Marquis CORNWALLIS, I beg leave to place them under your Lordſhip's protection. The original was honoured with the patronage of two Roman Emperors, then meditating

tating an expedition into Perſia: in the protection of your Lordſhip the tranſlation boaſts a name not leſs illuſtrious, in having terminated with the moſt brilliant ſucceſs an Indian expedition againſt the ableſt foe that ever diſputed the Britiſh empire in the Eaſt.

And in the prefix of a name ſo reſpectable, the form of addreſs is rendered ſhort and eaſy. The author has not to amplify a character, with which the world is already ſo well acquainted. In this inſtance, to uſe the ſtyle of dedication would only be to anticipate the hiſtorian's pen.

For

For whether as the ſoldier covered with laurels, the ſtateſman ſacrificing the pride of conqueſt to his country's good, the individual exerciſing uncontrolled power with unexampled humanity, or the man ſolicited by every temptation of accumulating wealth, yet, in character truly Horatian,

" Ingentes oculo irretorto
Spectans acervos,"

in whatever point of view the page of hiſtory, while it records your Lordſhip's adminiſtration in India, ſhall perſonally regard yourſelf, it muſt be panegyrick.

To

To that faithful page I therefore refer your Lordſhip's atchievements: and have the honour to be,

With great Reſpect,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient

And humble Servant,

R. SHEPHERD.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE ſubſequent pages, were written at a time, when the author's inclination directed his views to a military life: and the courſe of reading he then adopted had an aſpect to that profeſſion. While engaged in thoſe purſuits, the collection of ſtratagems made by Polyænus he read with ſo great pleaſure both as a claſſical and military production; that he was induced to employ ſome leiſure hours in habiting the author in an Engliſh dreſs. But, in reſpect to his line of life, changing afterwards his deſign, with his intended profeſſion he laid aſide the ſtudies that attached to it: and the following tranſlation remained more than thirty years untouched and unnoticed in his deſk. Till by ſome means, which he can ſcarcely explain, it broke its confinement, and found its way to the peruſal of the Marquis CORNWALLIS: who recommended the publication of it, as a work, if the tranſlator may be permitted to uſe his Lordſhip's own words, that would prove an acceptable preſent to the Britiſh officers.

Since that time the extraordinary conduct of a neighbouring nation having provoked almoſt all Europe to arms; Great Britain of too much conſequence in herſelf and her connections to remain an idle ſpectator of exertions calculated to involve the world in ſcenes of anarchy and confuſion, found it neceſſary to take the field. Her navies were ſummoned from her ports; her armies to foreign ſervice: her militia are embodied at home; and the country aſſumes a more military complection, than it hath for ſome time paſt been accuſtomed to wear. At this period, and in this ſtate of things, the author hath been induced to hazard on the public the following pages.

He is aware that the world has little to do with this detail, nor at all concerned about the motives that induced him either to tranſlate or publiſh: but he conceives it a duty, which he owes to himſelf, with the work to obtrude on the public his apology for it. Leſt he ſhould appear to have miſemployed his time in the proſecution of ſtudies very different from thoſe, which his profeſſion might have been ſuppoſed to ſuggeſt.

His profeſſion, as well as his diſpoſition, leads him to wiſh the prevalence of univerſal peace: but he yet ſees no characters of the time appear, when we "ſhall beat our ſwords into ploughſhares, and our ſpears into pruning hooks:" a period notwithſtanding, which on the ſure word of prophecy he firmly truſts will come. But of that period,

which

which infinite wiſdom hath predetermined, with humble patience we muſt wait the approach: and in the mean time, as wiſe and good citizens, it is our duty to endeavour to ſecure ourſelves in the poſſeſſion of order and peace by every means human prudence can ſuggeſt.

And this he knows not by what other means, than the arm of power, is to be effected. For he is not ſo wild a politician, as to ſuppoſe, thoſe deſirable objects of ſecurity and peace are to be preſerved to a great nation without armies: and armies he is free to acknowledge imply war. But let it be at the ſame time obſerved, that the term war does not neceſſarily involve in it deſolation, oppreſſion, and diſtraction. Let it be called an evil; but, in the name of common ſenſe, let it be acknowledged a neceſſary one. And when it is conducted by men of virtuous diſpoſitions, and truly great minds; the object of it is to procure the bleſſings of peace. "It is that, 'ſays an antient writer of the firſt eminence,' for which we bear to be expoſed to danger and fatigues of every kind."* The object of it, even with regard to our enemies, is no more than a conviction of injuries, an amendment of conduct, and a reparation for wrongs. Reſpecting ourſelves, when directed by prudent counſels, it is ſecurity and peace. No wiſe man ever attacked his neighbour, for the ſake of returning victorious from the field. And

* Polybius, L. 4, C. 1.

when war is undertaken by thoſe that are unwiſe: it is a conſideration that conſtitutes the reaſon, why the wiſe ſhould be in a condition to repel ſuch attacks; it forms an irrefragable argument for being prepared by military arrangements, and what the quiet ſpeculatiſt may indignantly call a parade of the pride of war.

THERE exiſts an inſtance in the preſent ſtate of Europe, to which alluſion has been already made, and which exemplifies many of the above reflections. A great and powerful nation has ſtarted forth, and with a degree of boundleſs philanthropy undertaken the Herculean labour of reducing jarring intereſts to general acquieſcence, harmony, and union: the one great object of her endeavours, to conciliate to the world univerſal peace, and *fraternize* mankind. But ſuch is the imbecility of human nature, when they have held out the benevolent hand to *fraternize*; even that virtuous nation, big with benevolent deſigns, have ſometimes been obſerved to draw it back, clinched with the full grafp of oppreſſion.

AND philoſophers as they are, they have not been ſo unenlightened as to imagine the general bleſſing of peace could be promoted, or ſo fanciful as to form an attempt to eſtabliſh it, otherwiſe than by force of arms. They have not been ſo abſurd as to ſuppoſe the great cauſe they had in view could be accompliſhed by the ſtill voice of reaſon, the demands of juſtice, or the plea of humanity. They have in arms traverſed

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ſeas and land, to make proſelytes to it. In foreign ſtates they have thundered with their cannon, and undermined with their emiſſaries: but in the great work the progreſs they have made is ſmall. And even at home we obſerve among them no ſymptoms of the benign bleſſings of peace: though indeed they boaſt of having laid the foundation ſtone of the great work, in having *ſhivered the ſceptres of Princes, and overthrown the altars of God.**

But though there may be ſome advantage in acknowledging no power ſuperiour to our noble ſelves, in founding our conduct on preſent utility; and laughing at the narrow prejudices, that manacle the reſt of the world: that line of thinking, and ſo looſe a rule of acting, may have its inconveniencies too. For ſuppoſing there ſhould be a ſupreme Being, that ſuperintends human actions, that rules this world with uncontroulable power, and governs every moral movement in it with adorable juſtice; I muſt not diſſemble how far a reflection, which one of the following ſtratagems hath ſuggeſted, carries me; and, reſpecting that heroic people, how much it hath alarmed me for their ſucceſs abroad, or even their ſafety at home. It is the laconic harangue of Ageſilaus to his little army, on his adverſary having attacked him in direct breach of oath. "Tiſaphernes, 'ſaid the brave Spartan,' I thank for his perjury: by which he has made the gods his enemies,

* Dupont's Speech in the Convention.

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and our allies. Let us therefore, my lads, march out with becoming confidence, in conjunction with ſo great auxiliaries." And my author proceeds to tell me, that ſpirited by this ſhort harangue the general led them forth, and obtained a compleat victory. On this little portion of antient hiſtory I leave our Gallic neighbours to make their comment.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

THOUGH the perſonal circumſtances of an author have it muſt be acknowledged little concern with his works; yet it is obſervable, that we can not intereſt ourſelves much in theſe, without wiſhing to know ſomewhat of the other. Short however is the account that hath reached us reſpecting the author of the following pages: of whom we learn little more, than that he was by birth a Macedonian; and, that the early part of his life was paſſed in arms. But, whether influenced by his love of letters, or other motives of prudence, he afterwards retired from the active ſcenes of his profeſſion; and exchanged the ſword for the gown.

IN this new ſituation his integrity and learning, his eloquence and abilities, recommended him to the notice of the Emperors Antoninus and Verus; who honoured him with a civil employ of truſt and dignity. It was then that he found himſelf at liberty to reſume his military ſtudies, and in his cloſet to contribute to the improvement of that profeſſion; for which, in his addreſs to the emperors prefixed to the

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firſt book of ſtratagems, the reader will diſcover in him a ſtrong predilection. Partly perhaps to gratify ſuch his inclinations, and partly to pay a tribute of gratitude to his patrons, what leiſure hours he could ſteal from his civil engagements, he devoted to the following collection of military ſtratagems.

The original work has come down to us incompleat: and what is ſtill more to be regretted, in that which has reached us the text is to a very great degree mutilated and corrupted. So that much was to be ſupplied, even in the bare attempt at a faithful tranſlation. And, added to theſe defects, the brevity, with which the author relates circumſtances, ſometimes renders the detail apparently imperfect; and ſometimes flings a ſhade of obſcurity on it. The tranſlator has therefore every where endeavoured to explain the ſtratagem, as well as to tranſlate it; and rather to give the author's meaning, than a literal verſion of his words; whenever the one did not clearly and fully convey the other, or where he has ſuſpected the text to have been corrupted. And, nude and unadorned as the original is, the conciſeneſs, the author obſerves in his relation of facts, beſides the diſadvantages above alluded to, creates alſo a ſameneſs in his mode of introducing the reſpective detail, and an uniformity in his manner of conducting it; which has in ſome inſtances induced the tranſlator a little to deviate from the form of narration which occurs in the original, in order to avoid as far as might be an apparent poverty of diction, and to give as much eaſe and variety to the ſtile, as matter ſo fettered up is capable of receiving. At the ſame time he hath not preſumed to flouriſh in deſcription,

deſcription, nor to add circumſtances to the general narration, which the author did not think neceſſary to introduce. What the reader is to expect, the tranſlator has thought it thus neceſſary to appriſe him.

The critic, who looks for ſentiment, or deſcription, will be diſappointed: but he muſt recollect that Polyænus wrote for military men; that facts conſtituted all that was neceſſary to be attended to; and that the more conciſely they were to be detailed, ſo much the more eaſily would they be retained in memory, brought together as in a ſynopſis, and be as occaſion offered ready for practice. Indeed in ſo vaſt a collection of ſtratagems had our author been more circumſtantial in his relation of facts, and ſtudied variety and expreſſion more than was barely neceſſary to elucidate them; inſtead of occupying his leiſure hours, the undertaking would have engroſſed every hour of his time: and his work would have formed a hiſtory of wars; and not, as he intended it, a collection of ſtratagems.

With regard to the tranſlator, if the conciſeneſs, which the author hath been noticed ſo uniformly to obſerve, has occaſioned him ſome little difficulties; he muſt acknowledge his taſk to have been in other reſpects light, in not having to contend with ſome very great ones. The work exhibits no nice form of expreſſion to be ſtudiouſly preſerved, no beauties of deſcription to be copied, no turn of ſentiment that requires the ſupport of correſpondent diction to communicate to it weight and ſignificancy. The author's aim was a ſimple detail of facts: the endeavour of the tranſlator has been to render thoſe facts with fidelity; ſometimes aſſuming a ſmall liberty in the mode of relation.

RESPECTING the original, though the text be much corrupted, the ſtile of Polyænus is claſſical, and even elegant: though he abound not in ſentiment, or deſcription, his matter is intereſting, and entertaining; and his various anecdotes, interſperſed throughout the work, are often better calculated for marking out the temper and character of the perſon reſpectively alluded to, than a regular detail of facts conducted by the hiſtorian to explain the whole ſcheme and ſyſtem of his conduct. And it appears to me ſomewhat extraordinary, that Polyænus is an author ſo little known; and one of thoſe few Greek claſſics, who have never made their appearance in an Engliſh dreſs. For this however ſome reaſons may perhaps be aſſigned. Military men generally enter too young into the profeſſion, and are too much engaged in active ſervice, to have leiſure to cultivate the ſtudy of ſo neglected a language as the Greek. And thoſe on the other hand, whoſe time is devoted to literary purſuits, have ſeldom much taſte for authors, whoſe works regard only military operations.

THE whole collection, if entire, would have conſiſted of nine hundred ſtratagems; containing the exploits of the moſt celebrated generals, of various nations, fetched from ages remote as the page of hiſtory will reach, and carried forward to our author's own time: ſo wide was the field he traverſed of annals, hiſtories, and lives, in the proſecution of his deſign; εφοδιον της στρατηγικης επιστημης, a manual, as he terms it, of the ſcience of generalſhip. And in ſo large a collection if ſome ſtratagems occur, that bear a reſemblance to each other, ſometimes with little variation employed by the ſame general, and ſometimes on different

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ent occaſions copied by others; the reader will be rather ſurpriſed that he finds ſo few inſtances of this kind, than led to have expected none. Some will ſtrike him as unimportant, and ſome are not properly military ſtratagems. Some devices again will appear ſo ludicrous and abſurd; as nothing but the barbariſm of the times, the ignorance and ſuperſtition that in ſome ſtates prevailed, will reconcile to credibility. The ſtratagems however that rank under thoſe claſſes are few: the work in general was executed with great judgment; and, as the author himſelf obſerves, he had employed upon it no ſmall degree of pains.

POLYÆNUS was a man of eminence: and, though he might have quitted actual ſervice in early life, for military ſcience equally diſtinguiſhed, as in his juridical character. And this collection of ſtratagems he conſidered as a work of ſufficient importance, to juſtify his pretenſions to the patronage of the emperors: who honoured the author with their confidence and attention. And in ſo high a light was he held as a military writer, and of ſo great utility was the work before us eſteemed; that Frontinus, a Roman knight, ſtimulated by the reputation it had obtained the author, publiſhed a new performance, of the ſame nature, and under the ſame title of military ſtratagems. Of which authors, ſays a very competent judge of literary merit,* whoever will take the pains to enter into a compariſon; he will find it ſtrengthen the argument of the great ſuperiority of the Grecian to Roman writers.

SINCE the introduction of gunpowder it muſt be acknowledged that

* Is. Caſaubonus.

the art of war has undergone a material alteration. But though the manner of engaging be different; ſeaſons, ground, forage, ſurpriſes, retreats, and all the manœuvres that flow from theſe ſubjects of military operation, are much the ſame as they were a thouſand years ago; and ſtill as practicable. Thoſe antient manœuvres, which this collection records, employed in effecting retreats, are ſo various, that on appoſite occaſions, it is conceived, many of them might with ſome variation under the preſent ſyſtem of war be practiſed with ſucceſs. Stratagems alſo in communicating and intercepting intelligence are equally advantageous at all times; and may in ſome inſtances be as practicable now as formerly, and muſt be as uſeful too. In ambuſcades the antient generals ſeem ever to have placed great confidence: and throughout the following ſtratagems it may be obſerved, whenever they eſcaped detection, they always decided the victory. A thouſand or two thouſand men after the enemy's lines are formed, and they are unprepared to receive them, ſhewing themſelves at ſome critical period of the engagement, were found of greater effect, than three times the number from the beginning of the engagement openly marſhalled againſt them. Woods, ſhrubby ground, and ditches, every one knows how to convert to thoſe purpoſes. But in the courſe of the following ſtratagems we are inſtructed, that even plain ground will ſerve the purpoſe: and ſometimes more effectually, as being by the enemy leſs ſuſpected. A ſmall eminence properly occupied has often been found effectually to ſhelter an ambuſcade; or the banks of a river; or a piece of ground has in the courſe of a night been ſcooped out for the purpoſe: from whence a caution

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is ſuggeſted, to reconnoitre the ground as near the time of an intended action as poſſible. Iphicrates, of whoſe ſtratagems Polyænus has recorded more than ſixty, remarks that he once neglected to reconnoitre his ground, and then he narrowly eſcaped being ſurpriſed by an ambuſcade.

How to guard againſt mutinies in your own army, or quaſh them when excited, and how to promote them in that of the enemy; how to impart confidence, reſolution, and ſpirit to your own troops, and impreſs the hoſtile army with terror, diffidence, and diſmay; how to keep your own forces together, and win over thoſe of the enemy to deſertion and revolts; thoſe are arts in which the difference of arms, of bullets and javelins, of mortars and catapults, it is apprehended can effect no great alteration. And interſperſed throughout the work occur ſo great a variety of excellent military precepts, rules, and maxims, that if not practicable in the great ſcience of conducting armies under any ſyſtem of war, and at any day, they will at leaſt be ſatisfactory in the illuſtration they afford of many points in the ſcience of war, as it was practiſed two thouſand years ago. They are the reſult of the experience of the greateſt generals of the world: amongſt nations where the glory of individuals, and at a period of time when the ſafety of ſtates, were centred all in military atchievements. And if to be well verſed in a ſimilarity of caſes, though perhaps not exactly and in every correſponding circumſtance at all times equally practicable, prepare men the better for counſel or action on emergencies, that may ſuddenly preſent themſelves; ſo far a general acquaintance with thoſe

ſtratagems

ſtratagems may ſuggeſt hints, which may be found of poſſible ſervice. Or at leaſt a knowledge of the various ſtratagems that have been practiſed, may tend to guard againſt ſimilar devices in the enemy, or modern improvements on them.

INDEPENDENT however of that military knowledge, and thoſe political maxims with which the work before us is replete; it is in other reſpects both amuſing and inſtructive. The lively repartees, and private anecdotes, which occaſionally occur, that fertility of invention in diſcovering reſources, and promptitude of mind often diſplayed in difficulties, and on ſudden emergencies, thoſe various inſtances of unſhaken reſolution under adverſity, of intrepidity in dangers, of contempt of ſufferings, with which the work abounds, intereſt the mind, entertain, and improve it. Little incidents in public characters are ſometimes noticed; which contribute to illuſtrate or explain hiſtorical facts, in the page of formal hiſtory perhaps doubtfully inſinuated, or obſcurely repreſented. The manners of the reſpective countries and times are often ſtrongly marked in the ſtratagems which refer to them; their habits, genius, ſtrength, and population are occaſionally introduced: and the policy and connections in particular of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, their public animoſities, and the private pique of individuals, that were the ſources of continual wars, are developed. The manner in which the ſoldiers lived in camps, their fare, their employments and amuſements, the following miſcellany exhibits; and forms a valuable body of antient military hiſtory.

EVERY hero of antiquity is there brought as in review before us: and

and in his actions we ſee his abilities and defects, his habit and temper of mind, more clearly and in ſtronger colouring, than in general deſcriptions of him at the head of armies, and in public ſcenes of life. Some characters even in thoſe days of barbariſm preſent themſelves, whoſe exceſs of virtue we may admire: but more of extreme profligacy, and diſavowal of all principle, which we muſt deteſt. And it affords matter of agreeable reflection; as war is unavoidable, to compare the civilized manner, in which it is now conducted, with that in which it was carried on in antient times: when oaths were uſed only to deceive, and ſavage power knew not the nice reſtraints of virtue. Let the infidel conſider this, and queſtion his own breaſt; whether chriſtianity, even as far as the intereſts of this world go, has done no good: whether human nature be not melioriated by its influence even in that ſtate, in which it diſplays moſt ferocity.*

HAVING adverted to certain particular military operations, which it is ſuppoſed might under the preſent ſyſtem of war admit of ſtratagems in aſſimilation to many that occur in the following collection; it may not be unacceptable to the reader, to ſee thrown together ſome

* This is a ſubject, which Paulus Oraſius hath largely diſcuſſed; and if any one ſhould think it a point that wants evidence, he will there find it ſatisfactorily proved. He flouriſhed early in the 5th century, and wrote the hiſtory of the world, after the manner of Juſtin: continuing it down from the firſt records of antiquity to his own time. Whether we conſider the period in which he lived, when the change of manners introduced into the world by chriſtianity might be more particularly conſpicuous; or the courſe of ſtudies he had purſued, and from which he muſt have been rendered well acquainted with the manners of the heathen world; I know none, nor can I eaſily conceive any, more competent to determine the point on which I refer to him.

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of thoſe general rules, as well reſpecting civil policy, as manœuvres in the field, which lie diſperſed in the following ſtratagems, either particularly inculcated, or plainly inferrible from them. And ſuch brief recapitulation will perhaps ſerve as a clue, leading to the obſervation of many other articles of inſtruction, that will occur to the reader in the courſe of the volume: which without being thus ſought for might elude his notice. For there is in Polyænus no regular ſeries of hiſtory; nor in the excellent rules and maxims, he hath ſuggeſted, hath he obſerved any general ſyſtem of detail. They are interſperſed without order; and reſult from, the beſt of all leſſons, experience.

Among the antient Greeks, their generals were their ſtateſmen: and ſome hints might therefore be expected from our author, of civil as well as military import. Such is the danger he obſerves, and the precaution neceſſary, in employing foreign troops, and the little confidence to be placed in them. The danger indeed is not ſo great now, as in more uncivilized times: but the confidence to be placed in them is pretty much, and from the nature of things ever muſt be, the ſame.

We experience the horror of civil diſſentions, and are inſtructed how cautious we ſhould be to guard againſt the ſource and cauſes of them: while we ſee painted as it were before our eyes, from how ſmall circumſtances ſuch diſſentions have been ſometimes produced; and how eaſily in their infancy they might have been ſtifled.

In ſeveral inſtan es are we led to obſerve the difference between treaties,

treaties, to which one party is induced by the then circumſtances of the time, and peculiar exigences in their affairs; and thoſe, which are founded on mutual diſpoſition to cultivate them, and equal independence in the federating powers. We learn from experience, with how ſteady an eye ſtateſmen ſhould look to thoſe two points: which will inſtruct them, where principally to direct their caution; and where more ſecurely to place their dependence.

THE ſtratagems, which relate to the weakening of a powerful enemy, to diſſolving confederacies, gaining time by treaties, and procuring intelligence, may be conſidered as addreſſed to ſtateſmen, as well as generals; and to pertain to the cabinet, as much as to the camp: they are not confined to particular periods, are capable of being improved on, and may be accommodated to any times and occaſions.

FIRST in the train of antient military manœuvres may be noticed the choice of ground: for this camps are ſhifted, movements made, and a variety of ſubordinate manœuvres practiſed. And in forming this choice the general, we find, conſidered, not only, nor always chiefly, the poſition in which he may himſelf act with moſt advantage; but that, in which the enemy can act with leaſt.

FROM obſerving in a vaſt variety of inſtances the effects of confidence, it may be concluded a matter of no ſmall conſequence, ſtrongly to impreſs it on the troops. Whatever it is coolly determined to attempt; the object is half effected, in poſſeſſing your army with an aſſurance of being able to effect it.

FROM the practice of experienced generals is inferred the differ-

ence of operations required; when the army is acting in a foreign country, and when the ſeat of war is in our own. In the latter caſe the general lies by, defends, creates obſtacles, harraſſes, ſkirmiſhes, and carries on a war of poſts. He with great deliberation weighs every circumſtance; before he engages in a general action, and ventures on ſo momentous an enterpriſe as a deciſive battle. On the other hand, if the enemy's country be the ſcene of action, he cautiouſly riſks detachments; yet he never ſuffers his troops to lie idle: he is conſtantly purſuing a ſucceſſion of new enterpriſes; by which he encourages the alacrity of his own troops, and intimidates the enemy; by the lure of hope engages to himſelf allies, and by the influence of fear detaches them from the intereſts of the enemy.

The penetrating mind of able chiefs in the examples before us calls our attention to a nice inveſtigation of the diſpoſition and character of the adverſe commander: from whence, by way of illuſtration reducing the conteſt as it were to ſingle combat, he learns in what parts he is particularly to guard himſelf, and in what with beſt effect to ſtrike.

Cautions abound reſpecting the impolicy of preſſing a vanquiſhed foe too hard, driving them by unreaſonable requiſitions to a ſtate of deſperation, and forcing them to be brave. They inſtruct how to conquer, and how to uſe a conqueſt; as well as another and no mean part of generalſhip, when to renounce the hopes of victory.

Instances there may be in individuals, where eaſe and diſſipation do not daſtardiſe the mind: but we have no inſtances, where they do not daſtardiſe an army. The beſt generals have aſſured us it is ſo:

and

and the rules, we find laid down by them to guard againſt ſuch contamination, are to provide and promote, as well in camps, as in times of moſt profound peace, amuſements and employment that may require ſtrength and activity. In camps, where military rules and diſcipline prevail, we ſee the laurel thrive: it loves not the ſoil, in which the roſe and myrtle delight. For this truth we need but look into thoſe of Philip of Macedon, and Scipio. In ſuch camps it is, that patience in bearing fatigues, firmneſs in combating dangers, and, in a word, that courage is learned. For courage, experience aſſures us, is acquiſitious: and for that reaſon, raw and undiſciplined troops muſt ever contend at a great diſadvantage with thoſe that have lived in habits of military diſcipline, and been trained up in the ſchool of war.

Acts of cruelty to an enemy are always reprehended, as never anſwering any valuable purpoſe. On the other hand a variety of inſtances are produced: evincing that clemency is always attended with good effects.

The firſt and principal ingredient, required in the compoſition of a great general, the ſlighteſt acquaintance with the military characters that form the ſubject of the following collection will evince to be courage. Other qualifications are neceſſary to compleat the character: but courage is that principle, without which it cannot exiſt. In the great maſs courage, it has been obſerved, is acquiſitious: but it is not ſo in a commander. In the former caſe, the mind is moulded into courage by habit and example: in the latter character the individual ſtands alone. In his ſituation, he may give example, but can not receive it.

If therefore he be deficient in courage; that defect will cling to his mind through life. Age may add to, but will not cure, it: a cool and cautious young man will never atchieve any thing that is great. That coolneſs age will freeze into coldneſs; will manacle the hand of enterpriſe; and withold it from daring any thing, becauſe in iſſue every thing is uncertain. While on the other hand youthful ardour age corrects; and experience to great exploits matures it. Intrepidity marks not a mind, that can not ſee danger; but which feels reſources, that raiſe the ſoul above it. All the admonition therefore, that intrepidity wants, is ſummed up in two or three ſtratagems: the import of which directs, not to attempt nothing; but, as far as prudence can ſee, and precaution guard, to ſecure every thing; to meet in contemplation every adverſe contingency, and above all things to diſcard every idea of ſecurity; however great the commander's ſtrength, however marked his ſuperiority, to neglect nothing, which, though apparently unneceſſary, had better be done; becauſe, it is a poor excuſe, after a neglect has occaſioned a miſcarriage, to ſay "who could have thought it?" *

But it is not my intention to write a commentary on Polyænus. My object in thoſe few premiſed reflections, flowing from ſome of the following ſtratagems, is only to evince that he is an author as inſtructive, as he is entertaining: and that, while he amuſes one claſs of readers, he is capable of affording hints that may be purſued with advantage by another.

* See Book III. Ch. ix. Str. 11.

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☞ Of thoſe, whoſe names have aſteriſks prefixed to them, the ſtratagems are loſt.

ERRATA.

AT the time the preceding ſheets were printing, the author being at a diſtance from the preſs, the reader's candour is beſpoken to the following errors.

Page.	Line.	
1	15	*For* poſſibly be of ſervice—*read*, be of poſſible ſervice.
23	13	*For* imperiatorial—*read*, imperatorial.
23	15	*For* which, after—*read*, which after.
26	10	*For* port—*read*, poſt.
41	28	*For* eventually—*read*, ultimately.
51	1	*For* ſtratagems, I—*read*, ſtratagems I.
52	6	*For* Biſander—*read*, Piſander.
58	2	*For* ſuperiourity—*read*, ſuperiority.
88	2	*For* when—*read*, but.
94	1	*For* Antonius—*read*, Antoninus.
105	4	*For* Iphicrates, during—*read*, Iphicrates during.
106	1	*For* ſuperiourity—*read*, ſuperiority.
114	8	*For* leſt—*read*, left.
117	28	*For* Ρυλακις—*read*, φυλακις.
134	19	*For* to the beſieged a flag of truce—*read*, a flag of truce to the beſieged.
137	24	*For* however—*read*, yet.
186	26	*For* as ſoon as—*read*, when.
202	19	*For* in that—*read*, in the other.
202	20	*For* the other—*read*, a different.
203	11	*For* reſtriction—*read*, aſtriction.
232	2	*For* his deſign—*read*, it.
234	20	*For* fire—*read*, torch.
243	14	*For* inferiour—*read*, ſuperiour.
270	13	*For* Peers—*read*, Satraps.
302	19	*For* auxiliares—*read*, auxiliaries.
308	15	*For* rode full ſpeed up—*read*, rode up full ſpeed.
317	2	(of the note) *For* chapters—*read*, ſtratagems.
317	2	(of the note) *For* Maſavicius—*read*, Maaſvicius.
340	6	*For* Pithu—*read*, Pithus.
341	11	*For* Bebracians—*read*, Bebrycians.
358	15	*For* form—*read*, from.

POLYÆNUS'S
STRATAGEMS OF WAR.

PREFATORY ADDRESS
TO THE EMPERORS
ANTONINUS and VERUS.

THE expedition, your ſacred majeſties, Antoninus and Verus, have undertaken againſt Perſia and the Parthians, the gods, your own virtue, and the Roman bravery, that have ever hitherto crowned your arms with conqueſt, will now alſo attend with ſucceſs. I, who am by birth a Macedonian, and have therefore as it were a national right to victory over the Perſians, have determined not to be entirely uſeleſs to you at the preſent criſis: and were my conſtitution robuſt and hale as it has been, you ſhould not want in me convincing proofs of a Macedonian ſpirit. Nor, advanced as I am in years, can I bear to be left behind without ſome efforts of ſervice. Accept, therefore, illuſtrious chiefs, in a collection of ſtratagems employed by the moſt diſtinguiſhed generals, this brief ſubſidiary of military ſcience; which, by exhibiting as in a picture the fortitude and experience of former commanders, their conduct and operations, and the various ſucceſs that attended them, may in ſome inſtances poſſibly be of ſervice to

 yourſelves,

yourſelves, your lieutenants, colonels, captains, or whomſoever you may think proper to inveſt with military command.

FORTITUDE conquers by dint of ſword; while ſuperiour conduct by art and ſtratagem prevails: and the greateſt reach of generalſhip is diſplayed in thoſe victories that are obtained with the leaſt danger.* In the heat of conflict to hit upon an expedient that ſhall decide the conteſt in your favour, without waiting the iſſue of a regular battle, is the moſt infallible criterion of military capacity: and this I have always conceived to be a favourite ſentiment of Homer — for what elſe can he mean by thoſe frequent expreſſions, "either by artifice or valour;" but that we ſhould firſt employ ſtratagems and device againſt the enemy; and if theſe fail, that valour and the ſtrongeſt arm muſt carry it.

IF we admit his authority, Siſyphus, the ſon of Æolus, was the firſt of the Greeks who employed ſtratagems in war.

"With happy ſkill in war's devices bleſt,
"Thoſe realms Æolian Siſyphus poſſeſs'd."

THE ſecond, famed for thoſe devices, according to the ſame authority, was Autolycus, the ſon of Mercury —

"Whoſe royal brows the victor's laurels grace,
"The gallant father of a valiant race;
"His ſtratagems in war and peace proclaim
"The warrior's wiſdom, and the monarch's fame."

* Similar is the obſervation of Vegetius: — "Able generals," ſays he, "are always attentive to ſtratagems: becauſe in open actions the riſk is on each ſide equal; but the ſucceſs of a ſtratagem throws the loſs entirely on the enemy."

VEGET. b. 3, c. 9.

NOR

Nor do I apprehend the fabulous account of the transformation of Proteus into animals and trees, to ſignify more or leſs than the variety of artifices he practiſed againſt the enemy.

As to Ulyſſes, we know he particularly valued himſelf on his ſtratagems and devices.

" I am Ulyſſes, and in ſkill to frame
" Deceptive wiles, unrivall'd is my fame."

To the fertility of his genius in artifice and expedients the Græcian heroes attributed the final conqueſt of Troy.

" Your ſchemes, your plans, effected Ilium's fall,
" And hurl'd deſtruction on the Trojan wall!"

And the ſame high compliment is paid him by others:

" And Troy was taught more fatal far to feel
" Ulyſſes' counſels than the Grecian ſteel."

The various ſtratagems he employed againſt the enemy Homer frequently celebrates. He repreſents him, " with ſelf-inflicted wounds deformed," revolting to the enemy. The wooden horſe, which Epeus by the inſtruction of Pallas built, was his device. Nobody alſo, the wine, the firebrand, and the ram, may properly be termed ſtratagems, which he employed againſt the Cyclops. Such too were the ſtopping of the ears of his crew with wax, and the laſhing of himſelf to the maſt, in order to prevent the baneful influence of muſic. And what will you ſay to the beggar's purſe, and the deceptions impoſed on Eumæus and Penelope?

" His was the art inſtruction to detail,
" And facts inculcate, under fiction's veil."

The boxing with Irus, the removing from the ſmoak the arms of the drunken young men, and the fixing the bow at the door; — were they not all military ſtratagems? But enough of theſe, and other inſtances of ſimilar import, adduced by Homer.

How do the tragedians repreſent that ſtratagem which Ulyſſes employed againſt Palamedes? The Greeks, in ſolemn judgment, decided in favour of Ulyſſes; who had ſecretly depoſited in the other's tent the barbarian gold: and thus, over-reached by artifice and manœuvre, was that accompliſhed general falſely convicted of treaſon. So far the ſcenic documents of the tragedians.

But the following collection of ſtratagems I have extracted from the faithful records of hiſtory, related ſuccinctly, and with what perſpicuity I could: the whole compriſed in eight books, which contain nine hundred ſtratagems, beginning with thoſe of Bacchus.

POLYÆNUS'S

STRATAGEMS OF WAR.

BOOK I. CHAP. I.

BACCHUS.

BACCHUS, in his Indian expedition, to gain admittance into the cities, inſtead of gleaming armour, habited his troops in white linen and deers' ſkins. Their ſpears were adorned with ivy, and the points of them concealed under a Thyrſus. His orders were given by cymbals and tabrets, inſtead of trumpets; and, intoxicating his enemies with wine, he engaged them in dancing.* From hence was derived the inſtitution of the orgies of Bacchus, which are only commemorations of this, and whatever ſtratagems elſe that General practiſed in his conqueſt of India, and the reſt of Aſia.

* This might have been effected by preſents of wine and invitations to feſtivity, or by feigned flights, and ſtores of wine purpoſely left in his camp. In rude times, and among a barbarous people, either ſtratagem might be practiſed with ſucceſs. But the former ſeems to be the deception in this place alluded to.

2. BACCHUS, finding his army unable to bear the exceſſive heat of the Indian climate, poſſeſſed himſelf of the mountain Tricoryphon; one of the tops of which is called Coraſibes, another Condaſce, and the third Menon. On this mountain are the memorials of his birth; it is fertilized with a variety of fountains, abounds in wild beaſts, produces plenty of fruit, and the air is cooled with continual ſnow. His army ſtationed here uſed ſuddenly to ſhew themſelves to the barbarians on the plains; and, ſhowering down on them large flights of arrows from thoſe high and craggy precipices, obtained eaſy conqueſts.

3. AFTER Bacchus had ſubdued the Indians, with them and the Amazons he formed an alliance, and took them into his ſervice. Penetrating into Bactria, whoſe boundary is the river Sarunges, he found the Bactrians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the mountains above the river, in order to diſpute his paſſage. Encamping therefore on the river ſide, in face of the enemy, he ordered the Amazons and his own women to ford it; expecting that the Bactrians, in contempt of the women, would quit their poſts on the mountains, and attack them: which they accordingly did. And the women retreating, were purſued by the enemy to the oppoſite bank. The ſtratagem ſo far ſucceeding, Bacchus at the head of his troops furiouſly attacked, and, thus ſurpriſed and embarraſſed as they were with the water, defeated them with a great ſlaughter, and paſſed the river himſelf without further danger.

CHAP. II.

PAN.

PAN, a general under Bacchus, was the firſt who reduced to a regular ſyſtem the marſhalling of an army: he invented the phalanx, and ranged it with a right and left wing; from whence he is uſually repreſented with horns. Victory always ſat upon the ſtrongeſt ſword, till he pointed out the way to conqueſt by artifice and manœuvre.

IN

In the midſt of a barren deſert Bacchus was by his ſcouts informed, that an immenſe army of the enemy were encamped a little above him. The intelligence was alarming; but he ſoon found himſelf relieved from his embarraſſment, by a ready expedient of Pan, who ordered the whole army, in the ſilence of the night, on a ſignal given, to ſet up a loud and general ſhout. The ſurrounding rocks, and the cavity of the foreſt re-echoed the ſound, and impoſed on the enemy an apprehenſion that his forces were infinitely more numerous than they were; and, ſeized with a general conſternation, they abandoned their camp, and fled. From the circumſtance of this ſtratagem the nymph Echo has been feigned by the poets to be the miſtreſs of Pan; and from hence alſo all vain and imaginary fears are termed Panics.

CHAP. III.

HERCULES.

1. HERCULES, determined to extirpate the race of Centaurs from Pelium, yet inclined rather to act upon the defenſive, than commence hoſtilities, reſided a ſhort time with Pholus: where, opening a veſſel of fragrant wine, he and his companions took the charge of, and watched, it. The neighbouring Centaurs, allured by the ſmell, flocked together to the cave, and ſeized the wine. Hercules therefore, to puniſh the injuſtice of thieves and robbers, attacked and ſlew them.

2. Fearing to encounter the ſuperior ſtrength of the Erymanthian boar, Hercules had recourſe to artifice. And as the beaſt lay in a valley, which was full of ſnow, he annoyed him with ſtones from above. The boar at length enraged, rouſed himſelf, and, with great violence ſpringing forwards, ſunk into the ſnow. Thus entangled in it,

it, and unable to exert himſelf, he became an eaſy capture to the aſſailant.

3. HERCULES, in his expedition againſt Troy, as ſoon as he landed, advanced to give the enemy battle; at the ſame time ordering the pilots to put back a little to ſea. The Trojan infantry ſoon gave way; while their cavalry puſhed to the ſea, in order to poſſeſs themſelves of the ſhips; but theſe floating a little off from land they were not able to gain; and, finding Hercules, who had returned from the rout of the infantry, on their quarters, thus hemmed in by the enemy on one ſide, and the ſea on the other, they fell an eaſy victim to the conquerors.

4. IN India Hercules adopted a daughter, whom he called Pandea. To her he allotted the ſouthern part of India which is ſituate towards the ſea, dividing it into three hundred and ſixty-five cantons. Theſe cantons he charged with a daily tax; and ordered each canton, by turn, on their ſtated day, to pay the royal ſtipend. So that, which ever of them firſt refuſed the tax, as it reſted on the others to make it good, the queen might depend on their aid and aſſiſtance in compelling the due performance of it.

5. HERCULES, having taken the field againſt the Minyans, whoſe cavalry in a champain country were formidable, not thinking it ſafe immediately to hazard a battle, previouſly diverted the courſe of a river. This was the river Cephiſſus; which bounds the two mountains Parnaſſus and Hedylius, and ſhaping its courſe through the middle of Bæotia, before it vents itſelf into the ſea, diſcharges its ſtream into a large ſubterraneous chaſm, and diſappears. This chaſm Hercules filling with great ſtones, diverted the river upon the plain where the Minyan cavalry was ſtationed. The plain preſently became a lake, and the cavalry thereby unſerviceable. Having thus conquered the Minyans, he opened the chaſm again, and the Cephiſſus returned to its former channel.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

THESEUS.

THESEUS, in his battles, uſed always to have the fore-part of his head ſhaved, to prevent the enemy's advantage of ſeizing him by the hair. His example was afterwards followed by all the Greeks; and that ſort of tonſure was from him called Theſeis. But thoſe who were particularly diſtinguiſhed for this imitation of Theſeus, were the Abantes, whom Homer thus characterizes:

——— "Their foreheads bare,
"Down their broad ſhoulders flow'd a length of hair."

CHAP. V.

DEMOPHON.

IN the cuſtody of Demophon was kept the palladium, which had been committed to his care by Diomede. This, on Agamemnon's demanding, the real one Demophon gave to Buſyges, an Athenian, to carry to Athens; and kept a counterfeit one, made exactly like the original palladium, in his tent. When Agamemnon, therefore, at the head of a large body of troops, came by force to ſeize it, he drew out his forces, and for ſome time ſuſtained a ſharp conflict with him; that ſo he might the more eaſily induce him to believe, it could be no other than the original, for which he would have ſo reſolutely contended. After many had been wounded on both ſides, Demophon's men gave ground, leaving the unſuſpecting victor triumphantly to bear away the counterfeit palladium.

CHAP. VI.

CRESPHONTES.

CRESPHONTES, Temenus, and the ſons of Ariſtodemus, agreeing to ſhare amongſt themſelves the government of Peloponneſus, concluded to divide the country into three parts, Argos, Sparta, and Meſſena; and, while they were deliberating by what mode to proceed in aſſigning each his property, Creſphontes, who had fixed his mind upon Meſſena, adviſed, that he whoſe lot was firſt drawn ſhould have Sparta, the ſecond Argos, and that Meſſena ſhould be the portion of the third. His advice was followed, and they caſt lots, which was done by throwing each a white ſtone into a pitcher of water; inſtead of which, Creſphontes having moulded up a piece of clay, in reſemblance of a ſtone, caſt it into the water, where it was immediately diſſolved; and the other two ſtones coming out aſſigned Argos to Temenus, and Sparta to the ſons of Ariſtodemus; whilſt Meſſena was allotted to him, as the determination of fortune.

CHAP. VII.

CYPSELUS.

IN the reign of Cypſelus the Heraclidæ engaged in an expedition againſt the Arcadians; from whom if they received preſents of hoſpitality, they were warned by the Oracle immediately to conclude a peace with them. Cypſelus therefore, in the harveſt ſeaſon, ordered the huſbandmen, after they had reaped the corn, to leave it in the high way; a grateful preſent to the ſoldiers of the Heraclidæ, of which they readily availed themſelves. He afterwards went out to meet them, and offered

offered them preſents of hoſpitality: the favour of which, recollecting the Oracle, they declined accepting. "Why this refuſal? 'replied Cypſelus:' Your army, in accepting our corn, has already received our preſents of hoſpitality." By this device of Cypſelus were the Heraclidæ reconciled to peace, and entered into an alliance with the Arcadians.

CHAP. VIII.

HALNES.

HALNES, King of Arcadia, when the Lacedemonians were ravaging Tegæa, ſelected the moſt able and vigorous of his troops, and poſted them on an eminence above the enemy, with orders from thence to attack them in the middle of the night. The old men and boys he ſtationed as guards before the city; and commanded them, at the time he intended the attack, to kindle a large fire. Whilſt the enemy, ſurprized at the ſight of the fire, were wholly intent upon that quarter, the ambuſcade fell on them, and obtained an eaſy victory; thoſe who eſcaped the ſword, ſubmitting to the chains of the conquerour. And thus was accompliſhed the prediction of the Oracle.

"I give you to Tegæa to advance,
"And there in fatal ſteps to lead the choral dance."

CHAP. IX.

TEMENUS.

TEMENUS and the reſt of the Heraclidæ, intending an expedition againſt Rheium, diſpatched ſome Locrian revolters, with inſtructions to inform the Pelopenneſians, that they had a fleet at Naupactum, on pretence of ſailing to Rheium; but that their real deſign was a deſcent upon the Iſthmus. On the credit of this intelligence, the Peloponneſians marched their forces to the Iſthmus; and by that means gave Temenus an opportunity of taking Rheium without oppoſition.

CHAP. X.

PROCLES.

WHILE the Heraclidæ, Procles and Temenus, were at war with the Euryſthidæ, who were at that time in poſſeſſion of Sparta; they were on a ſudden attacked by the enemy, as they were ſacrificing to Minerva for a ſafe paſſage over the mountains. Procles, little diſconcerted, ordered the flutes to march on before; after whom the ſoldiers advancing in arms, inſpired by the numbers and harmony of the muſick, preſerved their ranks entire, and, eventually, defeated the enemy. From this experience of the influence of muſick, were the Lacedæmonians taught to retain flutes in their army; who, advancing before them to the field, always ſounded the charge. And I can from my own knowledge aſſert, that the Oracle had promiſed victory to the arms of the Lacedæmonians, ſo long as they continued the uſe of flutes in their army, and fought not againſt thoſe who did retain them. The

battle

battle of Leuctra verified the prediction: for there the Lacedæmonians, without the muſick of flutes, engaged the Thebans, who always uſed the flute in battle; in which inſtance the God ſeemed directly to have pronounced the Theban victory.

CHAP. XI.

ACUES.

WHEN the Lacedæmonians entered Tegæa, which was betrayed to them in the night; Acues gave his men a particular ſignal, whereby to diſtinguiſh each other, with orders to ſlay all who did not know it. This ſignal all the Arcadians knowing, aſked no queſtions; but the Lacedæmonians, not being able to diſcern their friends in the night, were obliged to inquire before they encountered any, whether they were friends or enemies; and, thus diſcovering themſelves, were inſtantly diſpatched by the Arcadians.

CHAP. XII.

THESSALUS.

THE Bæotians of Arna having made war upon the Theſſalians, Theſſalus, by a happy ſtratagem, reduced them to terms of peace, without the hazard of a battle. Waiting for a dark and gloomy night, he diſperſed his men about the fields, with orders to light torches and flambeaus, and poſt themſelves in different places on the tops of the mountains; ſometimes raiſing their lights above their heads, then lowering them again; thereby to afford a more doubtful and uncertain ſpectacle. The Bæotians, on ſight of the ſurrounding flames, ſuppoſing themſelves involved in a blaze of lightning, were thrown into conſternation, and became ſuppliants for peace.

CHAP. XIII.

MENELAUS.

MENELAUS, returning with Helen from Egypt, was forced to put in at Rhodes; of whoſe arrival Philixo, who was then mourning the unhappy fall of her huſband Tlepolemus at Troy, being informed, reſolved to revenge his death on Helen and the Spartan: and, at the head of as many Rhodians as ſhe could collect, both men and women, armed with fire and ſtones, advanced to the ſhips. Menelaus, thus aſſailed, the wind not permitting him to put to ſea, concealed the queen under deck; at the ſame time dreſſing one of the moſt beautiful of her attendants in her royal robes and diadem. The Rhodians, not ſuſpecting but that ſhe was Helen, diſcharged their fire and ſtones on the unfortunate attendant. And thus, ſatisfied with the ample ſatisfaction, as they thought, they had paid the manes of Tlepolemus, in the death of Helen, they quietly retreated; leaving Menelaus and Helen to purſue their intended voyage at leiſure.

CHAP. XIV.

CLEOMENES.

IN a war between the Lacedæmonians and Argives, while the armies were encamped in front of each other, Cleomenes obſerved that every tranſaction in his camp was betrayed to the enemy; who took their meaſures accordingly. When he ordered to arms, the enemy armed alſo; if he marched out, they were ready to form againſt him. When he gave orders for repoſe, they did the ſame. Whenever therefore he ſhould next iſſue publick orders for repaſt, he gave private directions that

that the troops ſhould arm. The publick orders were as uſual conveyed to the unſuſpecting Argives; whilſt Cleomenes, advancing in arms, attacked them with ſucceſs, unarmed, and unprepared to oppoſe him.

CHAP. XV.

POLYDORUS.

TWENTY years had the Lacedæmonians haraſſed the Meſſenians with a war, in which they had been continually foiled: when Polydorus, pretending a rupture between himſelf and Theopompus, diſpatched a revolter to the enemy's camp, with information that they were at variance, and had divided their forces. The Meſſenians, upon this report, obſerved the motions of the enemy with particular attention. And Theopompus, agreeably to the information they had received, decamped, and concealed his army at a little diſtance from the ſpot; remaining in readineſs to act, whenever occaſion might require. The Meſſenians, ſeeing this movement, and deſpiſing the inferiority of Polydorus's army, in a body ſallied out of the city, and gave him battle. Theopompus, at that moment, upon a ſignal given by his ſcouts, advancing from his ambuſcade, made himſelf maſter of the empty abandoned town; and falling upon the Meſſenians in the rear, whilſt Polydorus attacked them in front, gained a compleat victory.

CHAP. XVI.

LYCURGUS.

1. THE method Lycurgus took to enforce his laws upon the Lacedæmonians, was, on enacting any new law, by repairing to Delphos; there to inquire of the Oracle, whether it would be advantageous

to

to the republick to receive it, or not. The propheteſs, wrought upon by the eloquence of a bribe, always affirmed the expediency of receiving it. Thus, through a fear of offending the god, the Lacedæmonians religiouſly obſerved thoſe laws, as ſo many divine oracles.

2. One command of Lycurgus, ſanctioned by the Oracle, was this: "O, Lacedæmonians, be not too frequently engaged in war; leſt by that means you alſo teach your enemies the military art."

3. Another advice of his was, always to give quarter to thoſe who fled; leſt otherwiſe the enemy ſhould judge it better to hazard their lives in a brave reſiſtance, than be ſure of loſing them by running away.

CHAP. XVII.

TYRTÆUS.

THE Lacedæmonians, previous to an engagement with the Meſſenians, formed a general reſolution either to conquer or die: and when they came to bury their dead, that they might each be diſtinguiſhed by their friends, had their names engraven on their ſhields, which were faſtened to their left arms. Tyrtæus, to make an advantage of this device, by intimidating the Meſſenians with an account of it, gave private orders that frequent opportunities ſhould be offered the Helots of revolting; who no ſooner obſerved themſelves leſs ſtrictly watched, than many deſerted to the enemy, whom they informed of the exceſs of the Lacedæmonians' deſperation. Intimidated by this report, the Meſſenians, after a weak reſiſtance, yielded a compleat victory to the Lacedæmonians.

CHAP. XVIII.

CODRUS.

IN a war between the Athenians and Peloponneſians, victory was declared by the Oracle in favour of the Athenians, if their king fell by the hand of a Peloponneſian. The enemy, informed of the Oracle, gave publick orders to every individual in the army, carefully to avoid any perſonal attack on Codrus, who was at that time king of the Athenians. He however in the evening diſguiſing himſelf in the habit of a wood-cutter, advanced beyond the trenches to hew wood; and there chanced to meet ſome Peloponneſians, who were out upon the ſame errand. With them Codrus purpoſely quarrelled, and wounded ſome of them with his axe: at which, exaſperated, they fell upon him with their axes, and ſlew him; returning home to their camp, elated with the performance of ſo noble an exploit. The Athenians, ſeeing the Oracle thus far fulfilled, as having now nothing further to wait for, with new courage and reſolution advanced to battle; having previouſly diſpatched a herald into the enemy's camp, to requeſt the body of their dead king. And when the affair was diſcovered to the Peloponneſians, they immediately abandoned their camp and fled. The Athenians afterwards paid divine honours to Codrus, who, by his voluntary death, had purchaſed ſo compleat a victory.

CHAP. XIX.

MELANTHUS.

IN a war between the Athenians and Bæotians, for the poſſeſſion of Melænæ, a tract of country bordering upon Attica and Bæotia, it was by the Oracle thus declared:

" Xanthus, Melænæ's fair and fertile plain
" Melanthus ſhall by ſtratagem obtain:"

Which was thus verified: Melanthus, general of the Athenians, and Xanthus, of the Bæotians, agreed to decide the victory by their own ſwords. As ſoon as they were engaged, Melanthus called out, " Thus to bring a ſecond againſt a ſingle man is unfair;" upon which, Xanthus turning about to ſee who this ſecond was, Melanthus ſeized the opportunity, and, thus unguarded, run him through with his ſpear. The victorious Athenians, in memory of this ſucceſsful ſtratagem, inſtituted an annual feſtival, which they call APATURIA.

CHAP. XX.

SOLON.

THE Athenians, tired out with a tedious war, in which they had been engaged againſt the Megarenſians, for the iſland Salamis, enacted a law, that made it death for any one to aſſert, the city ought to endeavour the recovery of it. Solon, undaunted by the ſeverity of the prohibition, deviſed means to ſuperſede the law. He counterfeited madneſs, and, running into the aſſembly, repeated an elegy he had compoſed for the occaſion; and with this martial poem ſo ſpirited up the Athenians to war, that, inſtigated by Mars and the Muſes, ſinging hymns and ſhouting, they advanced to battle, and, in an obſtinate engagement, entirely routed the Megarenſians. Thus Salamis again relapſed into the juriſdiction of the Athenians: whilſt Solon was held in univerſal admiration; who by madneſs could repeal a law, and by the power of muſick conquer in battle.

2. IN the courſe of the war between Athens and the Megarenſians, for the iſland Salamis, Solon ſailed to Colias; where he found the women performing ſacrifice to Ceres. He immediately diſpatched to the Megarenſians

renſians a perſon, who, pretending himſelf to be a renegade, ſhould adviſe them to ſeize the Athenian women; an enterprize which might eaſily be executed, if they made all poſſible ſail to Colias. The Megarenſians inſtantly manned a ſhip, and put to ſea. Solon, in the mean time ordered the women to retire; and ſome beardleſs youths, dreſſed in female attire, with garlands upon their heads, and privately armed with daggers, to dance and wanton near the ſhore. Deceived by the appearance of the youths, and their falſe dreſſes, the Megarenſians landed; and eagerly endeavouring to ſeize them, hoped to find an eaſy capture. But the youths, drawing their ſwords, by the ſlaughter that enſued ſoon convinced them of the difference between men and women, and of their fatal miſtake. And immediately embarking for Salamis, they made themſelves maſters of the iſland.

CHAP. XXI.

PISISTRATUS.

PISISTRATUS, in an expedition from Eubæa into Attica againſt Pallenis, falling in with a body of the enemy, defeated and ſlew them. Advancing farther, he met the remaining part of the army; whom he ordered his men not to attack, but to crown themſelves with garlands, and ſignify to them that they had already made a truce with the party they had firſt met. On the credit of this aſſertion, they formed an alliance with Piſiſtratus, and admitted him into the city. When mounting his chariot, with a tall beautiful woman by his ſide, whoſe name was Phyſa, accoutred in the armour of Pallas, he impreſſed the Athenians with a belief that Pallas was his protectreſs and guide; and by this means obtained the ſovereignty of Athens.

2. HAVING formed a deſign to diſarm the Athenians, Piſiſtratus commanded all to appear at the Anacæum, in arms. And as ſoon as they

were aſſembled, he ſtepped forth, under pretence of haranguing them: but begun in ſo low a tone of voice, that, not being able to hear him, the people deſired him to go to the porch, where they might all hear him more diſtinctly; and even there not raiſing his voice ſo as diſtinctly to be heard, while the people were with great attention liſtening to him, his aſſociates went privately out, and, carrying off all the arms, carried them to the temple of Agraulus. The Athenians, after finding themſelves naked and defenceleſs, too late perceived that Piſiſtratus's weak voice was only a ſtratagem to deſpoil them of their arms.

3. Some private jealouſies ſubſiſting between Megacles and Piſiſtratus, Megacles being magiſtrate on the part of the rich, and Piſiſtratus of thoſe of the lower order; after having, in a publick aſſembly inſulted and menaced Megacles, Piſiſtratus abruptly retired: and, ſlightly wounding himſelf, went the next day into the forum, and publickly expoſed to the Athenians his wounds. Fired with rage and reſentment at ſeeing what he had ſuffered in their defence, the people aſſigned him a guard of three hundred men, for the protection of his perſon. By means of theſe guards, who uſed always to appear armed with clubs, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of Athens, and after his death left it to his ſons.

CHAP. XXII.

ARISTOGEITON.

ARISTOGEITON, when put to the torture to extort from him a confeſſion of his aſſociates, confeſſed none of them; but in their ſtead named all the friends of Hippias. And when by Hippias's order they had been put to death, Ariſtogeiton reproached him with his cruelty to his innocent friends, and the ſucceſs of his own ſtratagem.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

POLYCRATES.

WHEN Polycrates, the Samian, infeſted the Græcian ſeas, he made no diſtinction in his depredations between friends and foes: obſerving, that in caſe his friends ſhould re-demand ſuch part of his ſeizures as was their property, he would have an opportunity of obliging them with the reſtitution of it; and thus engage them the more cloſely to his cauſe. But if he took nothing from them, he conſidered he ſhould have nothing wherewith to oblige them.

2. UPON a publick ſacrifice offered by the Samians in the Temple of Juno, which was attended with a parade of men in arms, a great quantity of arms being collected on the occaſion, Polycrates gave the conduct of the train to his brothers Syloſon and Pantagnoſtus. As ſoon as the ſacrifice commenced, the greateſt part depoſited their arms upon the altar, and addreſſed themſelves to prayer; whilſt thoſe about Syloſon, and Pantagnoſtus, who had been previouſly apprized of the deſign, waiting in arms for the ſignal given, ſet upon the reſt, and ſlew them, each diſpatching his man. In the mean time Polycrates, at the head of his aſſociates, poſſeſſing himſelf of the moſt advantageous places in the city, was joined by his brothers and their party, who had, with all expedition, forced their way to him from the temple. With theſe he fortified and defended himſelf in the tower, called Aſtypalæa; till, having received an enforcement from Lygdamis, the tyrant of Naxos, he obtained the ſovereignty of Samos.

CHAP. XXIV.

ISTIÆUS.

WHILST Iſtiæus, the Mileſian, reſided at the court of King Darius, in Perſia, he formed a deſign of engaging the Ionians to revolt; but was at a loſs how ſafely to tranſmit a letter, the ways being every where poſſeſſed by the king's guard. Shaving the head of a confidential ſervant, in inciſions on it he thus briefly wrote: "Iſtiæus to Ariſtagoras, ſolicit the revolt of Ionia." And as ſoon as his hair was grown again, he diſpatched him to Ariſtagorus. By this means, he paſſed the guards unſuſpected; and, after bathing in the ſea, ordered himſelf to be ſhaved, and then ſhewed Ariſtagoras the marks: which, when he had read, he proſecuted the deſign, and effected the revolt of Ionia.

CHAP. XXV.

PITTACUS.

PITTACUS and Phrynon agreed by ſingle combat to decide the right to Sigæum, then in conteſt between the Athenians and Mytelenians: and it was propoſed that they ſhould fight with equal weapons; and ſuch to appearance they were. But Pittacus under his ſhield had privately concealed a net; which caſting over Phrynon, he eaſily drew him, thus entangled, within his reach, and killed him. It was afterwards pleaſantly ſaid, that he had fiſhed for Sigæum with a linen line. This ſtratagem of Pittacus it was, which gave riſe to the uſe of the net in the duels of the gladiators.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

BIAS.

CRÆSUS, King of Lydia, intending an expedition againſt the iſlands, was deterred from his deſign by Bias, the Prienian; who told the king, that the iſlanders had bought up a great number of horſes, that they might be able to bring into the field a formidable cavalry againſt him. "Would to Jupiter, 'ſaid the king, with a ſmile,' I could catch thoſe iſlanders on the continent!" — "True, 'replied Bias,' and what think you they could wiſh, rather than to catch Cræſus upon the ſeas?" This repartee of Bias had its effect in diſſuading the king from his intended expedition.

CHAP. XXVII.

GELON.

GELON, the Syracuſan, the ſon of Dinomenes, was appointed commander in chief, in a war againſt Himilcon, the Carthagenian: and after having by his gallant behaviour defeated the enemy, he went into the aſſembly, and gave up the accounts of his imperiatorial commiſſion; the expences of the war, the time, arms, horſes, and ſhips. For all which, after great encomiums were beſtowed upon him, he ſtripped himſelf; and, advancing naked into the midſt of them, "Thus naked, 'ſaid he,' I preſent myſelf to you, that now, whilſt you are all armed, if I have ever injured or oppreſſed any individual amongſt you, I may feel the juſt reſentment of your weapons." He was anſwered by the acclamations of all preſent, ſtyling him the moſt gallant, the beſt of generals. To whom he replied, "Then for the future always

ways let it be your care to elect ſuch another."—"Such another, 'anſwered they,' we have not." He was therefore a ſecond time elected general; which paved the way for him to the ſovereignty of Syracuſe.

2. When Himilcon, King of Carthage invaded Sicily; Gelon, who then poſſeſſed the ſovereignty there, took the field againſt him: but not venturing to hazard a battle, he in his own robes habited Pediarchus, who commanded the archers, and much reſembled himſelf both in perſon and looks; and ordered him to march out of the camp, and attend a ſacrifice on the altars. The band of archers followed him, dreſſed in white veſtments, carrying myrtle branches in their hands, and bows privately concealed under them; which they were inſtructed to make uſe of againſt Himilcon, as ſoon as they perceived him in the ſame manner advancing to ſacrifice. Matters thus diſpoſed, Himilcon entertaining no ſuſpicion of deſign, came forward alſo, and ſacrificed: when a ſudden ſhower of darts immediately diſpatched him, while he was officiating at the ceremonies, and offering libations.

3. Gelon, in order to ſubvert the empire of the Megarenſians, invited over to Sicily whoever of the Dorians were willing to remove; and at the ſame time impoſed on Diognetus, Prince of Megara, an enormous fine: which, not being able himſelf to diſcharge it, he levied on the citizens; who, to avoid compliance with the tribute, removed into Sicily, and there ſubjected themſelves to the power and authority of Gelon.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THERON.

THERON, in an engagement with the Carthagenians, had put the enemy to flight: when the Sicilians, pouring into the camp, immediately fell to plundering the tents; and, whilſt in that diſorder, were attacked

attacked by the Iberians, who, advancing to the aſſiſtance of the Carthaginians, made great havock among them. Theron, perceiving the carnage that was likely to enſue, diſpatched a party to wheel round the camp; with orders to ſet fire to the tents that were fartheſt behind. The enemy, ſeeing the camp on fire, and being themſelves deſtitute of tents, betook themſelves, with precipitation, to their ſhips; which, however, being cloſely purſued by the Sicilians, few of them were able to gain.

THERON, THE SON OF MILTIADES.

2. THE Selinuntines having been defeated by the Carthaginians, and the field ſtrewed with their dead, while the enemy preſſed ſo cloſe upon them that they dared not venture forth to bury them, and yet were ſhocked to ſee them lie neglected and expoſed; in this emergency, Theron engaged, if they would provide him with three hundred men who could cut wood, to march out with them, burn the dead, and bury them. "But if we fail in our attempt, 'continued he,' and fall victims to the enemy, the city will not ſuffer much from the loſs of one citizen, and the price of three hundred ſlaves." The Selinuntines embraced his propoſal, and gave him his choice of the number of ſlaves he deſired. Accordingly, ſelecting thoſe he judged moſt active and ſtout, he led them forth, armed with wood-bills, hatchets, and axes, under pretence of cutting wood for the funeral pile. But after they had advanced ſome little diſtance from the city, Theron prevailed on them to ſhake off their ſervitude; and late in the evening marched them back: when, making themſelves known to the guard, they were readily admitted. Theron no ſooner entered, than he diſpatched the guard; and, having ſlain in their beds ſuch citizens as were moſt likely to thwart and fruſtrate his deſigns, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the city, and the ſovereignty of Selinuntum.

CHAP. XXIX.

HIERON.

HIERON, finding the enemy prepared to diſpute his paſſage over a river, poſted his heavy armed troops at the place where he intended to ford it; ordering the horſe and light-infantry to advance higher up, under colour of paſſing it above. The enemy obſerving this motion, marched their forces alſo higher up, in order to defeat his ſuppoſed intention. Hieron, in the mean time, effected a paſſage with his heavy armed troops, eaſily bearing down the ſmall party of the enemy who were left to oppoſe him. And as ſoon as he had gained the oppoſite ſide, he hoiſted a ſignal to the horſe and light-infantry, who immediately returning paſſed the river at the firſt port; whilſt Hieron, with his heavy armed forces, ſuſtained the enemy's attack.

2. WHENEVER Hieron, in his wars with the Italians, took priſoners any of eminence, or who had great connexions in the ſtate, he would not permit them to be immediately ranſomed, but always retained them ſome time with him; treating them politely, and with the firſt honours of his houſe. He afterwards received the ranſom, and courteouſly diſmiſſed them. From ſuch diſtinguiſhing marks of favour, they ever after became ſuſpected by their fellow citizens of having their affections warped, and ſecretly favouring the cauſe of Hieron.

CHAP. XXX.

THEMISTOCLES.

THE Athenians, diſpirited at the import of an Oracle, in theſe words delivered;

" Thou,

" Thou, Salamis divine, to Pluto's reign
" Shalt many a youth aſſign, untimely ſlain:"

THEMISTOCLES artfully interpreted it againſt their enemies; " Since, ' ſaid he,' never could the Oracle ſtyle Salamis DIVINE, if it were to prove the cauſe of deſtruction to the youth of Greece." The happy turn thus given to it revived the courage and reſolution of the Athenians: and this interpretation of an alarming Oracle having been ſo ſatisfactory, the people were directed by Themiſtocles in his explanation of another, equally enigmatical and obſcure:

" May Jove to Athens give a wall of wood."

For when moſt of the people were for fortifying their towers, Themiſtocles bade them man their ſhips, " for theſe, ' ſaid he,' O! Athenians, are your wooden walls." His words had their effect. The Athenians concurred with him, embarked, engaged their enemy, and overcame them.

2. WHILE the fleet was ſtationed near Salamis, the Greeks were almoſt unanimous in adviſing a retreat: which Themiſtocles as violently oppoſed, preſſing them to hazard an engagement in the ſtrait ſeas. But not being able to prevail, he in the night diſpatched Sycinnus, an eunuch, who was tutor to his ſons, privately to inform the king of the intention of the Greeks to give him the ſlip; " but, ' added he,' prevent it, and engage them." The king followed the eunuch's advice, and attacked the Græcian fleet; where, by the ſtraitneſs of the ſeas, the vaſt number of his own ſhips was rendered rather of diſſervice, than uſe to him. Thus by a happy ſtratagem of their commander, the Greeks obtained a victory, even againſt their own inclinations.

3. THE Greeks, after their conqueſt at Salamis, reſolved upon ſailing to the Helleſpont, there to deſtroy the bridge, and cut off the

king's retreat. This Themiſtocles oppoſed; alledging, that if the king were precluded a retreat, he would immediately renew the battle: and deſpair is frequently found to effect what courage fails in encountering. Again therefore he diſpatched Arſaces, another eunuch, to inform the king that unleſs he made a ſpeedy retreat, the bridge over the Helleſpont would be demoliſhed. Alarmed at this information, the king by expeditious marches reached the Helleſpont, and paſſed the bridge, before the Græcian army had executed their deſign; leaving Themiſtocles to enjoy his victory, without the hazard of a ſecond engagement.

4. When the Athenians firſt applied themſelves to fortify their city with walls, it gave great umbrage to the Spartans, whom Themiſtocles found means to deceive by this happy ſtratagem: he was deputed ambaſſador to Sparta, and there confidently denied that the walls were raiſing. "But, 'added he,' if you be not ſatisfied with my declaration, ſend whom you pleaſe of credit and eminence to enquire the truth; and in the mean time let me be your priſoner." This they complied with: when Themiſtocles privately diſpatched a meſſenger to the Athenians, with ſtrict charge to detain thoſe who were ſent to Athens for intelligence, till their walls were raiſed; and after that, not to permit them leave the city, till the Spartans had releaſed him. The ſtratagem ſucceeding, the walls were raiſed; Themiſtocles then returned, the delegates were ſet at liberty, and Athens fortified, to the great mortification of the Lacedæmonians.

5. In the war with the Æginates, Themiſtocles prevented the Athenians from their purpoſe of dividing amongſt themſelves a hundred talents, the produce of the ſilver mines; and propoſed that a hundred of the moſt opulent citizens ſhould contribute each a talent to the fund: engaging, that if the city were ſatisfied with the uſe to which he ſhould recommend the money to be applied, it ſhould be placed to the publick account; if not, the contributions ſhould be returned. The propoſal was embraced; the hundred citizens vying with each other

other in expedition, every one fitted out a handſome veſſel: and the Athenians ſaw themſelves on a ſudden furniſhed with a powerful fleet; which they employed not only againſt the Æginates, but againſt the whole power of Perſia.

6. When the Ionians, in alliance with the Perſians, fought under Xerxes, Themiſtocles ordered the Greeks to have this inſcription placed on their walls: "O, impious Ionians, thus to war againſt your fathers!" This memorial created in the mind of the king an indelible ſuſpicion of their diſaffection.

7. Themistocles, in order to elude the reſentment of the Athenians, without making himſelf known to the maſter of the ſhip, embarked for Ionia. But the veſſel being forced by a ſtorm upon Naxos, which was at that time invaded by the Athenians, afraid of being apprehended, he went up to the maſter, and diſcovered to him who he was; at the ſame time threatening, if he ſuffered him to be taken, to accuſe him to the Athenians of having been bribed to tranſport him to Ionia. For the common ſafety of them both, he therefore propoſed that no one ſhould be permitted to ſet foot on ſhore. Terrified by theſe menaces, the maſter obliged every one to continue on board; and put out again to ſea as expeditiouſly as he was able.

CHAP. XXXI.

ARISTIDES.

ARISTIDES and Themiſtocles, moſt inveterate enemies, were each at the head of oppoſite factions in the ſtate: but upon Perſa's expedition againſt the Athenians, they amicably went out of the city together, and, graſping each other's hand, proteſted; "Here we depoſit our former animoſities, and lay aſide our mutual enmity, till we have put an end to the war in which we are engaged againſt Perſa."

After

After this ſolemn proteſtation on both ſides, looſing their hands, they filled the ditch by which they ſtood, as if they had there buryed their animoſity; and acted unanimouſly through the whole courſe of the war. This harmony in the conduct of the generals, diſtreſſed the enemy, and ſecured to themſelves the victory.

CHAP. XXXII.

LEONIDAS.

LEONIDAS engaged the Perſian army, at Thermopylæ, the ſtraitneſs of the place making the great ſuperiority of the enemy's forces of little ſervice to them.

2. A LITTLE before an engagement, Leonidas obſerving the clouds look thick and lowering, turned about to his officers, and bade them not be ſurprized at the thunder and lightning, which from the appearance of the heavens, he obſerved muſt be very ſoon expected. The army of Leonidas, thus forewarned of the phænomenon which ſoon appeared, confidently advanced to battle. But the enemy, terrified and diſpirited at the menaces of the elements, afforded an eaſy conqueſt to the Spartans.

3. HAVING made an irruption into the enemy's territories, Leonidas in the night diſpatched ſmall parties different ways, with orders, upon a ſignal given, to fell the trees, and ſet fire to the villages. At ſight of this, they who were in the city imagining the enemy's forces to be much more numerous than they were, ventured not out to give them battle, but ſuffered them to carry off the ſpoil unmoleſted.

CHAP. XXXIII.

LEOTYCHIDES.

OBSERVING the Athenians, engaged in a naval war about Mycale, were alarmed at the great ſuperiority of the enemy's forces, Leotychides deviſed means to detach the Ionians from the intereſt of the Medes; in which he knew they were engaged, more through fear, than inclination. He pretended an expreſs was arrived, with information of a victory obtained by the Greeks over the Perſians, at Platæa. Encouraged by this aſſurance, the Ionians joined the Greeks; and fortune afterwards gave the ſanction of truth to this ſtratagem, in realizing the pretended victory.

CHAP. XXXIV.

CIMON.

AT the river Eurymedon, Cimon having conquered the king's lieutenants, and taken many of his ſhips, manned them with Greeks; who, dreſſed in Median habits, ſailed to Cyprus. The Cyprians, deceived by the barbarian dreſs, readily received the fleet as friends and allies. But no ſooner were they ſafe on ſhore, than they too plainly proved that they were Greeks; and made themſelves maſters of the iſland, more by the ſudden conſternation into which the Cyprians were thrown, than the force that was employed againſt them.

2. CIMON having carried off from Seſtos and Byſantium many captives and rich ſpoil, was, at the requeſt of the allies, appointed to divide them. The captives alone compoſed one ſhare of the diviſion; and the other was made up of robes, veſtments, bracelets, and other trinkets.

trinkets. The allies choſe the oranments, and the Athenians contented themſelves with the naked captives. Cimon was ridiculed for having made, as was thought, ſo unequal a diviſion, and aſſigned a choice of ſo much the better portion to the allies. Shortly after came the friends and relations of the captives from Lydia and Phrygia, and redeemed them at very great ranſoms. The forecaſt of Cimon, and the advantageous diſpoſition he had made, then appeared; and the Athenians retorted their ridicule upon the allies.

CHAP. XXXV.

MYRONIDES.

THE Athenians and Thebans having formed againſt each other; Myronides, the Athenian general, ordered his men, as ſoon as the ſignal for battle was given, to begin the charge from the left. They did ſo; when Myronides, after having for a ſhort time engaged at the head of them, haſtily advanced to the right wing, calling out aloud, "We are victorious in the left." Upon mention of the word VICTORIOUS, the Athenians received a freſh acceſſion of courage, and charged the enemy with redoubled fury. The Thebans, on the contrary, diſpirited with the news of their defeat, abandoned the field to the enemy.

2. WHEN Myronides led the Athenians againſt Thebes, and was advancing to the field, he ordered them to ground their arms, and take a view of the country round. They did ſo; when addreſſing them, "Obſerve, 'ſaid he,' what a ſpacious plain this is; and what a number of horſe the enemy have in it. If we run away, the cavalry will moſt undoubtedly overtake us; But if we ſtand like men, there are the faireſt hopes of victory." By this conciſe harangue, he convinced them of the neceſſity of maintaining their ground; and penetrated even to the territories of Phocis and Locri.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVI.

PERICLES.

WHILST the Lacedæmonians were ravaging Attica; in order to divert their operations, by carrying the war into their own country, Pericles fitted out ſome Athenian galleys with orders to lay waſte the maritime parts of Sparta: and thus retaliated the injuries the Athenians had ſuſtained, by committing greater upon the Lacedæmonians.

2. WHEN Archidamus, who had been formerly a friend and acquaintance of Pericles, invaded Attica; Pericles, who was very rich, and had large eſtates, ſuſpecting, that on account of their former intimacy, Archidamus might not ſuffer his property to ſhare the general ravage, to ſecure himſelf from the ſuſpicion of the Athenians, before the devaſtation was begun, went into the aſſembly, and made a publick donation to the city of all his poſſeſſions.

CHAP. XXXVII.

CLEON.

CLEON, by means of a lucky diſcovery, betrayed Seſtos to the Abydenians without the expence of a battle. Theodorus, a friend of his, who had the command of the watch in the city, having an intrigue with a woman in the ſuburbs, obſerved a narrow acqueduct, which was continued through the walls. By pulling up a ſtone, through this paſs he uſed to viſit his miſtreſs; and at his return, replacing the ſtone as uſual, he continued his amour undiſcovered. At an hour, when wine and mirth had opened his mind, he confeſſed his intrigue to his friend Cleon; who immediately communicated it to the Abydenians: and, waiting for a dark night, when Theodorus had pulled up the ſtone, and

was amuſing himſelf with his miſtreſs, he introduced a party of the enemy through the aqueduct. Theſe, after they had ſlain the watch, opened the gates to the reſt of the army; and eaſily made themſelves maſters of Seſtos.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

BRASIDAS.

BRASIDAS was attacked near Amphipolis, and upon a rough craggy hill hemmed in by the enemy; who, to prevent his eſcape by night, raiſed round the hill a high wall of ſtone. The Lacedæmonians were inſtant with their general to lead them out to battle, and not let them ſtay to be cooped up, and periſh with famine. But Braſidas, without regarding their ſolicitations, told them, he beſt knew the proper time for engaging. After the enemy had extended their wall round the greateſt part of the hill; one place only being left open, like a paſs into a ſpacious lawn, he gave orders for battle, adding, that this was the time to ſhew their ſpirit. Then making a vigorous ſally, they forced a paſſage with great ſlaughter of the enemy, and little loſs to themſelves. For the ſtraitneſs of the place was no inconvenience to the ſmall number of their forces, whilſt the wall ſecured them from an attack upon their rear. Thus were the enemy's numbers rendered uſeleſs, and the Lacedæmonians effected a ſafe retreat.

2. AMPHIPOLIS, which was under the Athenian protection, having been betrayed into the hands of Braſidas, he ordered the gates to be ſhut: and, taking the keys, threw them over the walls; that thus not having it in their power to open their gates again to the enemy that had inveſted it, they might place all their confidence in a vigorous defence.

3. WHEN Braſidas, who had with great ſecreſy advanced to Amphipolis, found every thing there in confuſion; not judging it prudent to hazard

hazard a battle with an enemy, actuated by deſpair, he iſſued a proclamation, promiſing ſecurity to the Athenians, if they would agree to a truce with him, and retreat with their own property. And to the Amphipolitans he made another propoſal, that they ſhould enjoy the freedom of the ſtate, if they would enter into a ſtrict alliance with the Lacedæmonians. The terms of the proclamation were accepted by the Athenians, who drew off their forces; and the Amphipolitans became allies to Lacedæmon.

4. BRASIDAS, intending to ſail to Sicyon by night, ordered a trireme * to be manned, and ſail before him; whilſt himſelf followed in a light ſloop. That in caſe the trireme was attacked by a larger veſſel, the ſloop might come up to its aſſiſtance; but if it were equally engaged, he in the mean time might arrive ſafe at Sicyon.

5. THE enemy in a narrow defile hanging upon the Lacedæmonians' rear; Braſidas ordered his men to cut down great quantities of wood as they marched, and pile it in heaps; which being ſet on fire, and the flame ſpreading wide, he thus ſecured his rear, and effected a ſafe retreat.

CHAP. XXXIX.

NICIAS.

NICIAS ſailed by night to that part of Corinth, where is the mountain Solyges; and after he had there landed his Athenian forces, and a thouſand other troops, and poſted them in ambuſcade, at different places, he returned to Athens: and on the next morning, as ſoon as it was day, openly embarked for Corinth. The Corinthians advanced with alacrity to oppoſe him, and diſpute his landing. When the ambuſcade ſuddenly diſcovered themſelves; and furiouſly falling upon the enemy, gave them a total defeat.

* A ſhip containing three benches of oars.

2. THE Athenians being encamped about Olimpius, Nicias ordered wooden ſpikes in the night to be fixed in the ground, which extended on a level before the camp; and on the next day, when Ecphantus, general of the Syracuſan horſe, advanced with his cavalry, he was entirely routed, the ſpikes ſticking into the horſes' hoofs every ſtep they advanced. And many of them not being able to make good their retreat, were cut to pieces by the heavy armed troops, that were provided with hard ſtiff ſhoes for the purpoſe.

3. NICIAS, with a few men, was left to defend a town; whilſt the main body of the army lay at Thapſus. But the Syracuſans having poſſeſſed themſelves of the outworks, where was depoſited a great quantity of wood, Nicias, finding himſelf unable any longer to defend the town, ſet fire to the wood, which continuing to burn fiercely, repelled the enemy; till the army returned from Thapſus, and relieved him.

4. NICIAS, when cloſely purſued by Gylippus, and very near being taken, diſpatched a herald to him, with a propoſal to ſurrender on whatever conditions he would offer him: at the ſame time deſiring that ſome one might be ſent to ratify the treaty. Gylippus, not diſtruſting the herald, immediately encamped; and, deſiſting from further purſuit, ſent back Nicias's herald, and with him one commiſſioned to conclude the treaty. But Nicias, having in the mean time poſſeſſed himſelf of a more advantageous poſt, continued the war: after he had by this impoſition of the herald made good his retreat.

CHAP. XL.

ALCIBIADES.

TO make trial of the affection of his friends, Alcibiades contrived the following device—In a dark place in his houſe he ſhut up the ſtatue of a man; and diſcovering it to his friends ſeparately, as a perſon, whom he had

had murdered, he begged their aſſiſtance in contriving means to conceal the fact. They all excuſed themſelves from having any concern in an affair of that nature, except Callias, the ſon of Hipponicus; who readily offered to receive the pretended corpſe, and ſecrete it from a diſcovery. In Callias, therefore, he diſcovered a faithful friend; who ever afterwards held the firſt place in his affections.

2. In a foreign expedition, Alcibiades landed his forces in the enemy's country by night: and waited their attack the next day. But finding them not diſpoſed to venture out of the city, and hazard a battle, he planted an ambuſcade; and, after burning his tents, weighed anchor from thence, and ſailed back. As ſoon as from the city they had ſeen him embark, they confidently opened their gates, and in little parties ſtraggled up and down the country: when the ambuſcade, ſallying out upon them, took many priſoners, and no inconſiderable booty. Alcibiades immediately appeared on the coaſt again, and taking on board both the ſpoil and the captors, ſailed back to Athens.

3. While the Lacedæmonians laid ſiege to Athens, Alcibiades, in order to excite vigilance in the centinels, who were poſted at the Piræum, and the long walls which extended to the ſea, gave notice, that three times every night he would hold out a torch from the tower; and that whoever of the guard did not anſwer him, by holding up their's at the ſame time, ſhould be puniſhed for neglect of duty. The ſtratagem had its effect; for all were particularly careful to be in readineſs, to anſwer their general's ſignal.

4. In an expedition againſt Sicily, Alcibiades touched at Corſica; where, as his army was numerous, he divided it into three parts, that it might the more eaſily be ſupplied with forage: and advancing to Catane, when he found the Catanæans determined not to admit him, he diſpatched an embaſſy to them, deſiring that he might be permitted to enter their city alone, and to communicate to them what he had of conſequence to propoſe. This requeſt being complied with, he left

orders

orders with his generals, whilſt the citizens flocked from all quarters to the aſſembly, to make a vigorous attack upon ſuch gates as were weakeſt. Accordingly, whilſt Alcibiades was haranguing the Catanæans, they found the Athenians in poſſeſſion of the city.

5. AFTER Alcibiades had poſſeſſed himſelf of Catane, he retained in his ſervice, and found means to attach to him, a faithful Catanæan, who was well known at Syracuſe. Him he diſpatched thither, under pretext of being charged with a commiſſion to the Syracuſans by ſome of their friends in Catane; which was, to inform them that the Athenians devoted their time to pleaſures and feſtivity, and accuſtomed themſelves to ſtroll from the camp, ſecure and unarmed; and that therefore if early in the morning they could ſurprize the camp, the Athenians they would find an eaſy capture, unarmed, and indulging themſelves in the city. The Syracuſan chiefs eaſily credited him, and gave orders immediately for an embarkation of their whole army for Catane. They accordingly landed at Corſica, and, advancing to Catane, encamped at the river Symæthus. As ſoon as Alcibiades perceived them advancing, manning his triremes with all expedition, he embarked and ſailed directly to Syracuſe; where he arrived without oppoſition, and entirely demoliſhed their fortifications.

6. ALCIBIADES being ordered from Sicily, to take his trial for defacing the ſtatues of Mercury, and a prophanation of the myſteries, hired a light-built veſſel, to carry him to Lacedæmon. He there adviſed the ſtate to ſend ſpeedy ſuccours to the Syracuſans, and to fortify Decelæa; which if neglected, they could receive from thence neither the product of the ſoil, nor of the ſilver mines: and cautioned them, that they muſt alſo expect the revolt of the iſlanders, as ſoon as they ſaw themſelves beſieged. Theſe his tranſactions at Lacedæmon induced the Athenians to paſs his recall from exile.

7. IN an action between the Athenians and Syracuſans, Alcibiades obſerving a great quantity of dry fern between the two armies, while a briſk

briſk wind blew full on the backs of the Athenians, and againſt the enemy's faces, ordered the fern to be ſet on fire: and the wind driving the ſmoak into the enemy's eyes, they found themſelves unable to make any ſtand, and a general rout enſued.*

8. ALCIBIADES, when ſo pent up by Tyribaſus that there was but one way by which he could ſecure his retreat, while the enemy, who would not hazard a general engagement, hung upon his rear, encamped in a place well covered with wood; where he ordered a quantity of timber to be cut down, and piled in different heaps: this in the night he ſet on fire, and privately decamped. The barbarians, ſeeing the fire, never ſuſpected the Græcians of having ſtruck their tents: and as ſoon as the ſtratagem was diſcovered, and Tyribaſus prepared to follow him, he found his march ſo interrupted by the fire, that he was obliged to deſiſt from the purſuit.

9. ALCIBIADES privately diſpatched Theramenes and Thraſybulus with a large ſquadron to Cyzicum, to cut off the enemy's retreat to the city; whilſt he himſelf, with a few triremes, advanced to offer them battle. Mindarus, conceiving a contempt for his little fleet, inſtantly prepared for the engagement: when no ſooner had they cloſed, than the Athenian fleet counterfeited flight; and the Lacedæmonians, as if victory had declared in their favour, eagerly purſued them. But Alcibiades, as ſoon as he approached that part of his fleet which ſailed under the command of Theramenes and Thraſybulus, hoiſted his flag, and, tacking about, ſtood to the enemy. Mindarus then endeavoured to ſheer off, and make for the city; but was prevented by the movement of Theramenes. Cut off from that reſource, he directed his courſe to a point of Cyzicum called Cleros; but from thence alſo he was repulſed by the army of Pharnabazus. Alcibiades in the mean

* A ſimilar ſtratagem Hannibal is reported by Frontinus to have employed againſt the Romans at Cannæ.

time

time cloſely purſued him, ſhattering his ſhips, by running foul of them with his beaks, and hauling them off with his grappling-irons, as often as they attempted to land: whilſt thoſe who, effected a landing, were cut to pieces by Pharnabazus. And the death of Mindarus finally completed to Alcibiades a brilliant and glorious victory. *

CHAP. XLI.

ARCHIDAMUS.

ON the night before a battle, in which Archidamus was to command the Lacedæmonian army againſt the Arcadians, to ſpirit up the Spartans, he had an altar privately erected, adorned with two ſuits of bright armour; and directed two horſes to be led round it. In the morning, the captains and ſubalterns, obſerving thoſe new ſuits of armour, the prints of two horſes' feet, and an altar raiſed as it were of itſelf, perſuaded themſelves that Caſtor and Pollux had been to aſſure them of their aſſiſtance. The ſoldiers, thus inſpired with courage, and impreſſed with enthuſiaſtick notions of divine aſſiſtance, fought gallantly, and obtained the victory.

2. AT a time when Archidamus laid cloſe ſiege to Corinth, the rich citizens and the poor were divided into ſeparate factions; the one party inclined to deliver up the city to the enemy, and the other to eſtabliſh in it an oligarchy. Archidamus, receiving intelligence of theſe diviſions, ſlackened the ſiege. He no longer advanced his machines to the walls, no longer marked out his lines of circumvallation, no longer employed himſelf in levelling the ground. The rich men therefore, ſuſ-

* I have in this ſtratagem followed the original; in which, however, there is an undoubted error; for Pharnabaſus never was an ally of the Athenians. It is probable therefore that the fleet, which Alcibiades is ſaid to have diſpatched under the command of Theramenes and Thraſybulus to Cyſicum, landed there a body of troops under Thraſybulus: and that the true reading, inſtead of Pharnabazus, is Thraſybulus.

pecting

pecting that he had gained over the other faction to betray the city to him, determined to be before hand with them, and diſpatched an embaſſy to Archidamus with the ſurrender of it: ſtipulating for their ſafety by the ſanction of a future alliance.

3. At Lacedæmon happened a violent ſhock of an earthquake, by which five houſes only were left ſtanding. Archidamus, ſeeing the men wholly buſied in ſaving their effects, and fearing leſt they ſhould themſelves ſtay to be buried in the ruins, ordered the trumpet to ſound an alarm: on which the Spartans, imagining an enemy was advancing againſt them, immediately repaired to him. The houſes in the mean time fell; but the men were thus happily preſerved.

4. The Arcadians, after a victory obtained over the Spartans, being left maſters of the field, Archidamus weak, and diſabled with his wounds, ſent to petition a truce, to bury their dead; while there yet remained any to perform the office.*

5. Archidamus marched his army by night to Caræ, through a long tedious road, rough and craggy, and incommoded with waters. He endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to keep up the ſpirits of his men, haraſſed as they were with a fatiguing and laborious march; both by example and exhortation encouraging them to perſevere. By this forced march, they ſurprized the enemy; and, unprepared as they were for ſo ſudden an attack, entirely defeated them, and plundered the city. When afterwards, exulting in their victory, they were banqueting in the captured town, Archidamus aſked them, at what particular time the city appeared to them to be taken. Some anſwered, when they began the cloſe attack; others when they came within the reach of their javelins. "Neither, 'replied he;' but when we continued our march through that tedious dreary ſwamp: for perſeverance and reſolution eventually conquer every thing."

* The ſtratagem is left imperfect, and ſhould be thus ſupplied,—"The nature of the "requeſt impreſſed the Arcadians with horror at the carnage it conveyed, induced them to "ſheath the ſword, and, inſtead of a truce, enter into an alliance with the Spartans."

CHAP. XLII.

GYLIPPUS.

GYLIPPUS, ambitious of being inveſted with the chief command of the Syracuſan army, convened the other generals to a council of war: where he communicated to them a deſign of poſſeſſing themſelves of a hill which lay between the city and the Athenian Camp. With this propoſal after they had ſignified their concurrence, he by night diſpatched a revolter to inform the enemy of the deſign: who took advantage of the intelligence, and immediately poſſeſſed themſelves of the mountain. Upon this Gylippus pretended great indignation, as if his plan had by ſome or other of the generals been diſcovered to the enemy. To prevent therefore any ſuch communication of intelligence in future, the chiefs of Syracuſe committed to Gylippus the ſole management of the war.

2. THE eminence, of which the Athenians had poſſeſſed themſelves, Gylippus finding it neceſſary to recover, out of a great number of veſſels ſelected twenty: which he manned, and had frequently manœuvred. Theſe, as ſoon as he had compleated his compliment of men for the reſt of the fleet, he ordered to put to ſea early the next morning. The enemy no ſooner perceived them under ſail, than they alſo embarked, and advanced to give them battle. But whilſt they edged off, and the Athenians were briſkly purſuing them; Gylippus alſo, having manned the reſt of the fleet, put to ſea. And the attention of the Athenians being thus engaged in a naval action, the few troops, they had left behind, were eaſily diſlodged by Gylippus's infantry, who afterwards poſſeſſed themſelves of the poſt.

CHAP. XLIII.

HERMOCRATES.

AN inſurrection taking place in Syracuſe, and a great band of ſlaves being collected together; Hermocrates ſent ambaſſador to Soſiſtratus, their leader, one Daimachus, a captain of horſe, and formerly a particular friend and acquaintance of Soſiſtratus: who told him from the generals, that from particular regard for the fortitude he had diſplayed, they had agreed to give the men their freedom, furniſh them with arms, and allow them a military ſtipend; and that they alſo admitted him to the rank of general, and deſired that he would forthwith come and join them in their deliberations on public buſineſs. Relying on the friendſhip of Daimachus, Soſiſtratus attended the generals, with twenty of his beſt and ableſt men: who were all immediately ſeized, and thrown into chains; whilſt Hermocrates marched out with ſix thouſand picked men, and having taken priſoners the reſt of the ſlaves, he engaged to them on oath, that they ſhould receive no ill treatment from him, provided they would return to their reſpective maſters: to which they all agreed, except three hundred, who revolted to the Athenians.

2. THE Athenians, having ſuffered in a naval engagement with the Syracuſans off Sicily, reſolved to withdraw their forces from the iſland in the night; whilſt the Syracuſans lay buried in wine and ſleep after their triumphal ſacrifices. Hermocrates ſuſpected the deſign, but not venturing to hazard an engagement with troops drowſy and inebriated as his were, he diſpatched a revolter who told Nicias; his friends, who were ever vigilant in watching all opportunities of information, apprized him, that if he attempted to make his retreat that night, he would inevitably fall into the enemy's ambuſcade. The intelligence

obtained credit with Nicias; who waited for the next day, before he decamped. The next morning, Hermocrates ordered the Syracuſans to arms; who were by that time well refreſhed, and had ſlept off the fumes of the laſt evening's debauch: and poſſeſſing himſelf of the poſts at the paſſes of the rivers, and the bridges, he defeated the Athenians with great ſlaughter.

CHAP. XLIV.

ETEONICUS.

CONON, the Athenian, had beſieged Eteonicus, the Lacedæmonian, in Mitylene; when a light-horſeman arrived expreſs with news of Callicratidas, the Spartan admiral, having defeated the enemy at Arginuſæ. Eteonicus commanded the expreſs to retire out of the city privately by night, and the next day to return, crowned with chaplets, and hymning victory; and he himſelf offered ſacrifice for the auſpicious news; while Conon and the Athenian army, ſtruck with conſternation, raiſed the ſiege. Eteonicus, exerting himſelf with redoubled vigour, fitted out a fleet for Chios, and marched the army to Methymna, a city then in alliance with Lacedæmon.

CHAP. XLV.

LYSANDER.

LYSANDER, having promiſed his Mileſian friends to reduce the people to their ſubjection, for that purpoſe went to Miletum. And in his harangues, whilſt he ſeverely animadverted on the innovators, he promiſed the citizens his endeavours to ſecure to them their liberty, and to protect them in it. The people, not doubting his ſincerity, readily

readily embraced his offers, and put themſelves under his protection. When, unprepared for an attack, at a ſignal given, his friends fell upon the unſuſpecting citizens, and having ſlain the leaders of the oppoſition, Miletum relapſed into the power of his friends.

2. At the Ægoſpotamos the Athenians ſeveral times put to ſea, and bearing down upon the enemy offered them battle, which Lyſander always declined: whereupon they returned to their ſtation, exulting in their ſucceſs, and hymning victory. The Lacedæmonian at laſt ſent two ſloops to obſerve them; the captains of which, as ſoon as they perceived the enemy landing, hoiſted a brazen ſhield as a ſignal to Lyſander; who immediately advanced with the reſt of the fleet, crowding all the ſail he could; and came up with the Athenians, juſt after the forces were landed. Some of them were gone to reſt, and others employed, part on one thing, part on another: when the Lacedæmonians on a ſudden attacking them, a regular force againſt a confuſed rout, obtained an eaſy victory. They took the whole fleet, both men and ſhips; except one galley only, which eſcaped to carry the ungrateful news to Athens.

3. Lysander uſed to ſay; "Boys were to be cheated with dice, but an enemy with oaths."

4. After Lyſander had made himſelf maſter of Thaſos, knowing that many of the citizens, who were in the Athenian intereſt, had concealed themſelves through fear, convened the Thaſians to the temple of Hercules. Where, in a gracious and conciliating harangue, he ſignified to them how readily he forgave all thoſe who might have concealed themſelves in conſequence of this revolution of affairs; and hoped they would diſmiſs all fears of his reſentment. On the aſſurance he gave them, in ſo ſacred a place as the temple, and that too in the city of his anceſtor Hercules, and captivated by this ſpecious addreſs, the Thaſians, who had before concealed themſelves, began to venture out, and appeared publickly: whom Lyſander, after forbearing two or three days

days to take any notice of them, that ſo they being leſs fearful, might alſo be leſs circumſpect, ordered to be ſuddenly ſeized and executed.

5. When it was debated by the Lacedæmonians and their allies, whether they ſhould not endeavour the entire deſtruction of Athens, Lyſander urged many arguments againſt it: and particularly the conſideration, that Thebes, which was a neighbouring ſtate, would thereby be rendered more powerful, and a more formidable enemy to Sparta. Whereas, if they could preſerve the dependence of Athens, under the government of tyrants, they might through its vicinity, watch the motions of the Thebans; whoſe affairs muſt of courſe decreaſe. Lyſander's advice was approved; and they were prevailed on to give up the deſign of deſtroying Athens.

CHAP. XLVI.

AGIS.

IN a war between the Peloponneſians and Lacedæmonians, the latter were reduced to great ſcarcity of proviſions; when Agis gave orders that the oxen for one whole day ſhould be kept from their feeding. And to conceal from the enemy their diſtreſs, he ſent over ſome revolters to inform them, that the next night a great reinforcement was expected at the Lacedæmonian camp. All the day the mouths of the cattle were muzzled; and looſed as ſoon as night came on. The hungry oxen thus ſet free, and turned looſe into the paſtures, leaping about and bellowing, raiſed a terrible noiſe, which the cavities between the hills did not a little contribute to increaſe. He ordered the ſoldiers at the ſame time to diſperſe themſelves abroad, and kindle ſeveral fires. The Peloponneſians, alarmed at the bellowing of the oxen, and the ſhouts they heard, as well as the fires which they obſerved, concluded the enemy to be ſtrongly reinforced, ſtruck their tents, and precipitately retreated.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLVII.

THRASYLLUS.

TO conceal from the enemy the number of his ſhips, Thraſyllus ordered the pilots to link two together, expanding only the ſails of one. And by this ſtratagem only one half of his fleet was diſcernible by the enemy.

2. THRASYLLUS, having laid cloſe ſiege to Byzantium, and vigorouſly carried on the attack, ſtruck ſuch a general terror into the minds of the Byzantines, leſt their city ſhould be carried by ſtorm, that they capitulated with him for the ſurrender of it within a limited time; and gave hoſtages for their obſervance of the articles. Thraſyllus accordingly raiſed the ſiege, and embarking his army ſailed for Ionia: but returned ſecretly by night, and made himſelf maſter of the defenceleſs city.

CHAP. XLVIII.

CONON.

CONON, in danger of being deſerted by his allies, diſpatched a revolter to the enemy with information of their intended retreat, of the time when they intended to ſtrike their tents, and of their rout: who took their meaſures accordingly, and placed an ambuſcade to intercept them. He then informed the allied army of intelligence he had received, that an ambuſcade was planted to intercept them; of which he was happy in an opportunity of apprizing them, that they might be upon their guard, and the more ſafely effect their retreat. As ſoon as they were ſatisfied of the truth of Conon's intelligence

ligence, and diſcovered the ambuſcade, won with his generoſity, they returned back to the camp, and continued with him till he had put an honourable end to the war.

2. CALLICRATIDAS, with a fleet double to the enemy, falling in with Conon, gave chaſe; and purſued him almoſt to Mitylene: when obſerving the Lacedæmonian ſhips widely ſeparated in the purſuit, Conon hoiſted up the purple flag, which was the ſignal for battle to the other commanders. They immediately ſtood to, and forming a line, furiouſly engaged the Lacedæmonian fleet; which, being thrown into confuſion by this ſudden attack of the enemy, were moſt of them either ſhattered to pieces, or ſunk. And Conon obtained a compleat victory.

3. WHEN Ageſilaus was laying waſte Aſia, Conon, being ſent to the aſſiſtance of Pharnabaſus, adviſed the Perſian to let his gold circulate amongſt the orators of the Græcian ſtates: "Of which, 'ſaid he,' when they have once taſted, they will at your requeſt influence their country, not only to make a peace with you, but to turn their arms againſt the Spartans." The advice was followed, and ſucceeded: for the Corinthian war preſently broke out, in conſequence of which the Spartans were obliged to recall Ageſilaus from Aſia.

4. CONON, when blocked up in Mitylene by the Lacedæmonians, ſeeing it neceſſary to give the Athenians notice of it, and yet diſtreſſed how to do it undiſcovered, manned two of his ſwifteſt ſailing ſloops with able ſeamen; and having furniſhed them with every thing neceſſary, he ordered them to lie by till the evening. As ſoon as the day cloſed, and he obſerved the guard ſtraggling about the ſhore, and variouſly employed, ſome in dreſſing their wounds, ſome piling the wood, and others lighting the fires; he commanded them to ſet ſail, and ſteer different courſes: that in caſe one was taken, the other might eſcape. But they both arrived ſafe; the enemy being either too neglectful to obſerve, or too indolent to purſue them.

5. JUST

5. JUST before a naval engagement, Conon, having received intelligence by a revolter, that a choice detachment of the enemy's fleet had determined, as their principal aim, to take the ſhip in which he ſailed, fitted out a trireme exactly like his own. And inveſting the captain of it with the admiral's robes, he ordered it to the right wing: and alſo commanded, that the whole fleet ſhould receive their ſignals from it. This the enemy obſerved; and forming a line of their beſt ſhips, immediately attacked the ſuppoſed admiral's veſſel: while Conon vigorouſly engaging them with the reſt of his fleet, ſunk part, and put the reſt to flight.

CHAP. XLIX.

XENOPHON.

XENOPHON, in his famous retreat from Perſia, when he found Tiſaphernes's cavalry continually attacking his baggage, adviſed that their carriages, with all that was not abſolutely neceſſary either for war, or the conveyance of their ſtores, might be left behind; leſt the Greeks ſhould defeat all poſſibility of a retreat, by ſacrificing their lives in the defence of their property.

2. As the enemy kept continually galling his rear, Xenophon formed his little army into two fronts, placing his baggage in a hollow ſquare in the middle; and in this diſpoſition he proſecuted his march: covering his rear with the cavalry, ſlingers, and targeteers; who repulſed the frequent incurſions of the barbarians.

3. XENOPHON, obſerving that the barbarians had poſſeſſed themſelves of a defile through which his route neceſſarily lay, favoured by a high mountain with an extenſive view of the country, diſcerned an acceſſible hill; but defended by a party of the enemy. At the head of a detachment, ſuch as he judged ſufficient for the purpoſe, thither he

marched; and diſlodging the forces that were poſted there, diſcovered himſelf to the enemy below: who ſeeing the advantageous poſition of the Greeks, abandoned themſelves to flight; and thus opened a ſafe paſſage for the Græcian army.

4. The barbarian cavalry being drawn up on the oppoſite ſide of a river, which Xenophon was obliged to croſs, and ready to diſpute his paſſage over it, he ſelected a thouſand men, whom he detached to ford the river a little above; whilſt he himſelf, to engage the obſervation of the enemy, made a feint, as if intending to croſs it directly againſt them. In the mean time the detached party gained the oppoſite ſide; and appearing above the enemy, engaged them: whilſt Xenophon ſafely paſſed it with the remaining part of his army.

PREFATORY ADDRESS.

WITH this ſecond book of Stratagems, I beg leave to preſent your moſt ſacred majeſties, Antoninus and Verus; who are yourſelves well qualified to judge at what expence of labour and time I have made this collection; ever ſtudious of your ſervice: though the honourable poſt, I hold under you at the bar, allows me few leiſure hours for the proſecution of other ſtudies.

BOOK II. CHAP. I.

AGESILAUS.

1. AGESILAUS took the field againſt the Acarnenſians about ſeed-time; but finding that at that ſeaſon they intended ſowing their lands, againſt the remonſtrances of the Lacedæmonians, he marched back his army: alleging, that after they had ſown their corn, in order to preſerve it, they would be more inclinable to peace. "For then, 'ſaid he,' peace they muſt have; or ſuffer us to reap the fruits of their labour."

2. THE Lacedæmonians, advancing to an engagement againſt the united force of Thebes and Athens, though the light-armed troops could be of no ſervice, Ageſilaus ordered the whole phalanx to the attack. Chabrias, general of the Athenians, and Gorgidas of the Thebans, obſerving the number of the enemy, commanded their reſpective corps not to advance; but with their ſhields fixed on their knees, and their ſpears couched, in that poſture to remain, and receive the enemy's

charge. Ageſilaus, ſtruck with the firm diſpoſition of their battle, judged it the province of a general rather to retreat, than hazard ſo unpromiſing an engagement.

3. AGESILAUS appeared at Coronæa with a force ſuperiour to what he had ever commanded before: when an expreſs arrived with intelligence that Biſander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, had by Pharnabazus been defeated and ſlain. Leſt the army ſhould be diſpirited by this ill news, Ageſilaus gave orders to the heralds to proclaim the contrary: that the Lacedæmonians had been victorious by ſea. And to favour the deceit, he himſelf appeared crowned, offered ſacrifices on account of the auſpicious news, and ſent portions of the victims round to his friends. Theſe demonſtrations of victory ſo inſpirited his troops; that they marched out to battle with confidence and alacrity.

4. AGESILAUS, after his victory at Coronæa, being told that the Athenians had fled for refuge to the temple of Minerva, replied, "Let them go wherever they are inclined; for nothing can be attended with greater danger, than an engagement to which the enemy is forced by deſpair."

5. AGESILAUS, in his Aſiatick expedition, to inſpire his men with a contempt for the barbarians, whom they had been uſed to regard with terror, ordered ſome Perſian captives to be ſtripped; and expoſing them naked before the army, he bade the Greeks obſerve their delicate and puny frames, occaſioned by the luxurious lives in which they were trained up; and on the other hand, how rich and coſtly was their apparel: laconically adding, "Thoſe are our enemies, and theſe the rewards of victory."

6. IT was a conſtant maxim with this general, always to leave the enemy a door open for flight.

7. UPON a complaint of the allies, that the Lacedæmonians brought into the field fewer forces than themſelves, Ageſilaus commanded them to ſit down by themſelves; and the Spartans to do the ſame: that

that ſo the matter might be brought to a proof. Thus ſeated, a herald made proclamation for all the potters to riſe: of the allies a great number did ſo. Upon the ſecond proclamation, which was for the ſmiths to riſe; many more ſtood up. All the carpenters, who were a large body, were next ordered to riſe. And, in the ſame manner, all other handicraftmen and mechanicks, in their order. So that amongſt the allies, there were ſcarce any left ſeated. But of the Lacedæmonians, not a man was ſeen ſtanding; for they are by their laws reſtricted from practiſing any mechanick employment. Thus were the allies taught, that though they contributed, towards carrying on the war, more men; yet the Lacedæmonians brought into the field more ſoldiers.

8. When Ageſilaus, having marched his army into Aſia, continued ravaging the territories in that part of the king's dominions; Tiſaphernes propoſed to him a truce for three months: which time was employed in intrigues to win over to the king's intereſt the Græcian cities, that were in Aſia. And at the ſame time, while the Greeks, refraining from action, quietly waited for the expiration of the truce, the Perſian was indefatigable in augmenting his force; and, contrary to his own engagements, on a ſudden attacked them. Unexpecting an enemy, and unprepared to reſiſt, a general tumult and conſternation pervaded the Græcian camp: when Ageſilaus, with a compoſed and tranquil countenance, or rather with looks expreſſive of joy, thus addreſſed his troops: "Tiſaphernes I thank for his perjury; by which he has made the gods his enemies, and our allies. Let us therefore, my lads, march out with becoming confidence, in conjunction with ſo great auxiliaries." Spirited by this ſhort harangue, the general led them forth, and obtained a compleat victory.

9. Upon his march to Sardis, Ageſilaus diſpatched perſons to propagate a report, that his march was only a pretence to deceive Tiſaphernes: for though the expedition ſeemed profeſſedly againſt Lydia, yet his real deſign was againſt Caria. Tiſaphernes, informed of this, directed

directed all his attention towards the defence of Caria; whilſt the Lacedæmonian made an impreſſion upon Lydia, and enriched himſelf with the ſpoil of that defenceleſs territory.

10. When Ageſilaus invaded Acarnania, and the Acarnanians had retired to the mountains; he halted in the plain country, and contented himſelf with deſtroying the wood in the adjacent places, by grubbing up the trees. The Acarnanians deſpiſed his apparent inertion, whilſt he ſeemed wholly occupied in deſtroying their trees; and ventured down from the poſts they poſſeſſed in the mountains, to the cities which were ſituated on the plains. This movement of theirs invited Ageſilaus to action: who, by a forced march of a hundred and ſixty furlongs in the night, early the next morning ſurprized them; made priſoners all the men he could pick up, and retreated with a great quantity of cattle, and other booty.

11. Agesilaus, having heard that the Thebans had ſecured the paſs at Scolos, ordered all the embaſſies from Greece to continue at Theſpiæ; and commanded them to ſtore there the forage for the army. The Thebans, informed of this, marched their forces, which were poſted at the paſs at Scolos, againſt Theſpiæ, in order to intercept whatever might be intended for that ſtation. Whilſt Ageſilaus after a two days march found the poſt at Scolos deſerted, which he paſſed undiſputed.

12. The Thebans, when Ageſilaus was ravaging their country, poſſeſſed themſelves of a hill, by Nature almoſt inacceſſible, called the Seat of Rhea: where he could not engage them but at a great diſadvantage; nor penetrate any further into the country, till he had diſlodged them. He made a feint therefore of drawing off his forces; and marching directly againſt Thebes: which was at that time quite evacuated. The Thebans, afraid for their city, abandoned their advantageous poſt, and haſted to the defence of it; whilſt Ageſilaus paſſed the hill without oppoſition.

13. At

13. At the battle of Leuctra, many of the Lacedæmonians having thrown down their arms, and deſerted their ranks; that ſo great a body might not be branded with infamy, Ageſilaus procured himſelf to be appointed a temporary legiſlator. In that capacity, not venturing to unhinge the conſtitution ſo far as to eſtabliſh any new laws, he only for the time diſpenſed with the execution of the old ones; leaving them after the battle of Leuctra to remain in full force.

14. A sedition happening at Sparta, and a great part of the ſoldiery having poſſeſſed themſelves of the ſacred mountain of Diana Iſſoria nigh Pitane; while the united forces of the Thebans and Arcadians at the ſame time preſſed hard upon them; a general conſternation took place amidſt the tumults of war and ſedition. Ageſilaus, whoſe reſolution and promptitude of thought in the moſt general confuſion never forſook him, conſidered, that to endeavour to force them to obedience, would in their preſent circumſtances be dangerous; and to ſupplicate and intreat them, a diminution of his authority. Going therefore to the mountain alone and unarmed, with an intrepid and unſuſpecting countenance, he called out, "My lads, you have miſtaken my orders; you therefore to that mountain, ' pointing to another place,' and you poſt yourſelves there: take your reſpective ſtations, and reſt on your arms." Suppoſing him ignorant of their intention of mutiny, they obeyed, and marched to the ſeveral ſtations he aſſigned them. But as ſoon as night came on, he diſpoſed of twelve of the ringleaders in different places, and thus quaſhed the ſedition.

15. The army being in great diſtreſs, and numbers every day deſerting; to conceal from the reſt of the army the number of deſerters, Ageſilaus ſent men in the night through the different quarters of the camp, with orders to gather up all the ſhields that were caſt away, and bring them to him: leſt the ſhield being found, ſhould betray the deſertion of its maſter. By this means, no ſhields being afterwards ſeen, the

the deſertion of the troops was not perceived, and the army reſumed their courage.

16. AGESILAUS lay a long time before Phocis, without being able to carry the city; nor could he well diſpenſe with the loſs of time, the ſiege was likely to coſt him. The Phocian allies on the other hand were no leſs weary of the ſiege, than he was. He therefore ordered his army to ſtrike their tents; and retreated. Upon this retreat of the enemy, the allies gladly received their diſcharge: of which Ageſilaus having notice returned, and made an eaſy conqueſt of the city thus evacuated by the allies.

17. HAVING occaſion to march through Macedonia, Ageſilaus ſent an embaſſy to king Æropus, to treat with him for a free paſſage. But the Macedonian, who had received intimation of the weakneſs of the Lacedæmonian cavalry, refuſed to enter into any treaty with him: and, ordering his own cavalry to take the field, returned anſwer, that he would meet him in perſon. Ageſilaus therefore, to make a greater ſhew of cavalry than he really had, ordered the infantry to form the firſt line; and behind them he placed all the horſe he could muſter up, diſpoſing them in a double phalanx: and increaſing the number with aſſes, mules, and ſuch horſes as, being paſt ſervice, were uſed only for drawing the baggage. Soldiers mounted upon theſe, and equipped in compleat horſe armour, gave the appearance of a numerous cavalry. And ſtruck with ſo formidable a force, Æropus concluded a league with the Lacedæmonians, allowing them a free paſſage through his dominions.

18. WHILE the army was encamped in Bæotia, Ageſilaus obſerving the allies averſe to an engagement, and continually ſlipping away, diſpatched private orders to Orchomenus, a city in the alliance, whither they withdrew themſelves, to admit none of the allies into their city, without orders from him. Finding therefore no place of refuge, they no longer conſulted for their ſafety by flight, but victory.

19 IN

19. In an engagement with the Lacedæmonians the Thebans being hard preſſed endeavoured to cut their way through the Lacedæmonian phalanx. The engagement continued obſtinate, and the carnage on both ſides was great: when Ageſilaus commanded his troops to act upon the defenſive, and open their ranks: which gave the Thebans an opportunity of breaking through; who immediately betook themſelves to flight. Ageſilaus then fell upon their rear, and, without further loſs to himſelf, obtained a compleat and cheap victory over the flying foe.

20. In another engagement with the Bæotians, obſerving the allies to be on the point of giving ground, Ageſilaus ordered a retreat: which was made through a narrow defile of mountains, the Lacedæmonians leading the van: there he halted; and the enemy falling upon his rear, the allies had no alternative but to conquer, or die.

21. Agesilaus having invaded Bæotia, ordered the allies to deſtroy the timber, and lay waſte the country: but obſerving their negligence and remiſſneſs in executing his orders, he commanded them to deſiſt from further ravages; at the ſame time removing his camp three or four times a day. In conſequence of theſe manœuvres, they became obliged to cut down wood for the purpoſe of erecting their tents. And thus were they compelled by neceſſity to do what their general's orders, and the injury the enemy would thereby ſuſtain, could not prevail upon them to effect.

22. Agesilaus, acting in Egypt as an ally to Nectanebus; they were in a little ſpot of ground hemmed in, and blockaded. The Egyptian, impatient at ſeeing himſelf thus immured, was inſtant with Ageſilaus to hazard an engagement. But he continued inflexible to his purpoſe, waiting till his little army was ſurrounded with a wall and trench, one ſmall gap only remaining, which looked like a gateway into the incloſure. Ageſilaus then calling out, "Now is the time for courage!" ſallied out at the portal, vigorouſly attacked, and

routed the enemy, the encloſure ſerving as a fortification to prevent them from being ſurrounded by ſuperiourity of numbers.

23. A BATTLE was fought between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, in which the victory was doubtful; the night only determining the diſpute. Ageſilaus diſpatched in the night a party of ſoldiers, on whom he could depend, with orders to bring off from the field, or ſecretly bury, all the Spartans they could find: which having accompliſhed they retired into the camp before day. The enemy perceiving by day-light, that almoſt all the dead were Thebans, loſt their ſpirits and alacrity, preſuming they had received a ſignal defeat.

24. AGESILAUS, returning from his Aſiatick expedition, marched through Bæotia; when the Thebans, endeavouring to harraſs him in his march, poſſeſſed themſelves of the defiles through which he was obliged to paſs. Upon this he formed his army into a double phalanx, and in that diſpoſition gave publick orders to direct their march to Thebes. Terrified leſt he ſhould ſurpriſe the city in their abſence, the Thebans inſtantly quitted their poſts, and returned with all the expedition they could to protect it: leaving Ageſilaus to purſue his march unmoleſted.

25. THE Thebans, to prevent the irruption of Ageſilaus into their territories, fortified their camp: on either ſide of which was a narrow defile. Ageſilaus, forming his army into a ſquare and hollow column, advanced againſt the paſs on the left: on which having drawn the enemy's whole attention, he privately detached ſmall bodies of troops from his rear; who poſſeſſed themſelves of the other paſs without oppoſition: and through that he entered the Theban territories, and ravaged them at diſcretion.

26. WHILE Ageſilaus was encamped againſt Lampſacum; there came to him ſome ſick revolters from the mines: who told in the camp, that the Lampſacenians had deſtined to the mines all the priſoners they ſhould take. This ſo enraged the army, that they advanced

to

to the very walls of the city, determined to ſtorm and plunder it. Ageſilaus, unable to repreſs their fury, and yet inclined to ſave the city, pretended to join in the general reſentment; and ordered his troops immediately to deſtroy all the neighbouring vineyards, as being the property of the principal citizens. While the troops were thus employed, he found means to appriſe the Lampſacenians of their danger, and to put them on their guard againſt the intended attack.

27. WHILE the Lacedæmonians and Thebans were encamped againſt each other on oppoſite ſides of the Eurotas; Ageſilaus finding the Lacedæmonians eager to paſs the river, and dreading the ſuperiour force of the enemy, induſtriouſly propagated a report, that the oracle had declared, the army would be routed, that firſt croſſed the river. Thus reſtraining the ardour of the Lacedæmonians, he left a few of the allies under the command of their general Symmachus the Thaſian, to guard the paſſage of the Eurotas; at the ſame time ordering him, as ſoon as the enemy attempted to croſs the river, to retreat with precipitation, directing his rout to ſome hollow ways, where he had placed an ambuſcade: himſelf in the mean time taking a ſtrong poſition with the Lacedæmonian veterans. The Thebans, obſerving the ſmall force that was left under Symmachus to diſpute their paſſage, aſſumed confidence, and croſſed the river: and while they purſued the troops, that according to their inſtructions fled before them, they fell into the ambuſcade, and loſt ſix hundred men.

28. AGESILAUS having marched into Meſſenia, diſpatched a ſpy: who returned with intelligence, that not only the Meſſenians had quitted the city, reſolved to oppoſe him; but even their wives and children, and the ſlaves, who were manumitted on the occaſion. He therefore gave up the enterpriſe; obſerving, that men in deſperation would always fight with moſt determined courage.

29. WHEN the Lacedæmonians were blocked up in their city by the Thebans; indignant at being cooped within their walls with

the women, determined to ſally out, and by a glorious attempt either conquer, or die. Ageſilaus diſſuaded them from the raſh deſign; reminding them, that they once had thus blocked up the Athenians: who, inſtead of throwing away their lives in ſuch a wild attempt, manned their walls, and defended the city; till wearied out with oppoſition and delay, they had themſelves been compelled to raiſe the ſiege, and evacuate the country.

30. AGESILAUS, returning from Aſia with great ſpoils, was harraſſed by the enemy: who annoyed him with their arrows and darts. He therefore flanked his army with the priſoners; whom unwilling to ſacrifice, the barbarians deſiſted from future attacks.

31. THE city Menda, which was in the intereſt of the Athenians, Ageſilaus ſurpriſed by night; and poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſtrongeſt part of it. The Mendenſians enraged, and determined to diſpute the poſt with him; "What occaſion," ſaid he, ſtanding up and haranguing them, "for ſo much rage and reſentment? one half of you are in the conſpiracy, that betrayed the city to me." The Mendenſians thus made to ſuſpect each other, ſubmitted to the victor's terms without further reſiſtance.

32. IT was the practice of Ageſilaus, to reſtore without ranſom to their countries thoſe captives, who had powerful connections in their reſpective ſtates: in order to leſſen their conſequence and power to excite innovations, by creating a ſuſpicion of their fidelity in the minds of their fellow citizens.

33. IN the embaſſies Ageſilaus received, he always made it a requiſition, that the enemy ſhould depute perſons of the firſt conſequence in the ſtate. When living with them on terms of friendſhip, and politely treating them, among the common people he raiſed ſuſpicions of their diſaffection, and thus promoted ſedition in their reſpective cities.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

CLEARCHUS.

CLEARCHUS at the head of a numerous army having advanced to a river, in one place ſo eaſily fordable that the water would not reach higher than the knees, and in another ſo deep as to be breaſt-high, endeavoured firſt to effect a paſſage where the water was ſhalloweſt. But finding it roughly diſputed with ſlings and arrows, he marched his heavy-armed troops to the ſpot, where the river was deepeſt. The greateſt part of their bodies being there concealed beneath the water, and that which was above covered with their ſhields, they croſſed it without loſs, and forced the enemy to retreat; while the remaining part of the army paſſed the ſhallow ford without oppoſition.

2. AFTER the death of Cyrus, Clearchus retreating with the Grecian forces encamped in a neighbourhood that abounded with proviſions. Thither Tiſaphernes ſent ambaſſadors, aſſuring them of his permiſſion to continue unmoleſted there, on giving up their arms. Clearchus pretended ſo great attention to the embaſſy, as induced Tiſaphernes, depending on a treaty taking place, to diſband part of his army, and ſend his troops into quarters. After which the Greeks ſtruck their tents in the night, and in an unremitted march of a day and night got ſo far ſtart of the Perſian, that before he could collect his diſperſed troops, they were entirely out of his reach.

3. CLEARCHUS requeſted Cyrus not to expoſe himſelf to danger, but to poſt himſelf at a diſtance, as a ſpectator of the engagement: repreſenting to him, that a ſingle man by mere bodily ſtrength could be of little conſequence in determining an action; whereas if he fell in battle, they muſt all fall with him. He then advanced ſlowly with the Greeks in a cloſe firm phalanx, the exact order of whoſe march ſtruck terror

terror into the enemy. And as ſoon as they approached within reach of their javelins, he ordered them, as faſt as they could run, to cloſe. And by this manœuvre the Greeks were ſuperiour to the Perſians in every action.

4. AFTER the death of Cyrus, the Greeks were left in poſſeſſion of a large and rich tract of country; which was ſo ſurrounded by a river, that, but for one narrow iſthmus, it was perfectly inſular. Clearchus finding it difficult to prevent them from encamping in the peninſula, diſpatched to the camp a pretended deſerter, who informed them that the king had it in contemplation to draw a wall acroſs the iſthmus, and hem them in. The Greeks took the alarm, acceded to Clearchus's meaſures, and encamped without the iſthmus.

5. RETURNING from an expedition with great treaſures, Clearchus was ſurpriſed by a ſuperiour force on a mountain, upon which he had poſted himſelf. While the enemy were drawing a trench round the mountain; he was inceſſantly importuned by his officers to engage, before they were quite blocked up. Have a little patience, replied the chief. And as ſoon as the evening approached, in the moſt incompleat part of the trench he depoſited his baggage and booty: and on that, as a narrow paſs, engaged the enemy; thereby defeating the advantage which their ſuperiourity of numbers gave them.

6. CLEARCHUS returning with the ſpoils he had taken from Thrace, and not being able to make good his retreat to Byzantium, encamped near the Thracian mountains: and expecting that the Thracians would from thence pour down and attack him in the night, he ordered his troops to lay on their arms, and in the courſe of the night frequently to rouſe themſelves. In order to make trial of their readineſs to receive a ſudden attack, he choſe a very dark night, and in the midſt of it at the head of a ſmall detachment appeared before his own camp; his men brandiſhing and ſtriking their arms againſt each other in the Thracian manner. His troops, taking them for the enemy, immediately

ately formed, to receive them. The Thracians in the mean time in reality advanced, in hopes to ſurpriſe them aſleep: who being dreſt and in arms, received the aſſailants; and, unprepared as they were for ſo ready and vigorous a reſiſtance, defeated them with great ſlaughter.

7. After the revolt of the Byzantines, Clearchus, though condemned by the Ephori, proſecuted the expedition againſt the Thracians; and with four ſhips arrived at Lampſacum: where he apparently lived in a looſe and diſſipated manner. To him the Byzantines applied for aſſiſtance againſt the Thracians, by whom they were cloſely preſſed. Pretending a ſevere fit of the gout, it was three days before he admitted the Byzantine ambaſſadors to an audience: when he told them, he was very ſorry for their ſituation; and aſſured them of the aſſiſtance they required. Accordingly manning two ſhips, beſides the four he had with him, he ſet ſail for Byzantium. There he debarked his own troops, and addreſſing himſelf to an aſſembly of the people, adviſed them to embark on board his ſhips all their cavalry and effective men; and, in order to divert the attention of the enemy from the city, to fall upon their rear. At the ſame time he directed the maſters of the veſſels, as ſoon as they ſaw him give the ſignal for battle, immediately to weigh anchor. The troops embarked, and the ſignal given, the veſſels were immediately under ſail: when Clearchus, pretending to be thirſty, and obſerving a tavern cloſe by, deſired the Byzantine generals to ſtep in with him. And poſting a party of his men at the door, he maſſacred the generals, and enjoined the maſter of the tavern, on riſk of his life, not to ſuffer the tranſaction to tranſpire: till taking advantage of the abſence of the citizens, who were buſied in forwarding the embarkation, he introduced his own troops, and made himſelf maſter of the city.

8. The Thracians ſent ambaſſadors to Clearchus, who had carried terror and devaſtation through their country, to ſolicit peace. But averſe to it on any terms, as an inexpedient meaſure, he ordered the cooks

cooks to cut in pieces two or three Thracian bodies, and hang them up: enjoining them, if any Thracians aſked what it meaned, to tell them they were to be got ready for Clearchus's ſupper. Struck with horror at ſuch acts as that, the Thracian ambaſſadors took their leave, without ever opening their commiſſion.

9. CLEARCHUS, finding his infantry much galled by the enemy's horſe, formed his army into platoons *, each platoon covering a more than uſual ſpace: and ordered them, lowering their ſhields, under cover of them, with their ſwords to dig ditches as large as they readily and conveniently could. As ſoon as this was effected, he advanced beyond the ditches into the plain that lay before them, directing his troops, as ſoon as they were preſſed by the enemy's cavalry, to retreat behind the ditches they had made. The horſe puſhing eagerly after them, fell one over another into the ditches; and became an eaſy ſacrifice to the troops of Clearchus.

10. WHEN Clearchus was in Thrace, his army was harraſſed with groundleſs apprehenſions of nocturnal attacks: to re-eſtabliſh therefore that tranquillity in his camp, which was thus diſturbed by continual tumults and confuſion, he ordered, that if any tumult ſhould ariſe, not a man ſhould ſtir; and if any one roſe and left his tent, that he ſhould be killed as an enemy. Theſe orders effectually diſſipated all apprehenſions of a nocturnal ſurpriſe; and quiet and tranquillity again took place.

* I have ventured thus to tranſlate the Greek πλινθιον; though perhaps the platoon may not exactly anſwer to the πλινθιον, which ſignifies a brick or tile: a quadrilateral figure, whoſe oppoſite ſides were equal; its length extended towards the enemy, and exceeding its depth.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

EPAMINONDAS.

PHÆBIADES, prefect of the tower, conceived a paſſion for the wife of Epaminondas, who informed her huſband of the advances he had made to her. Epaminondas directed her to diſſemble with the lover, and to invite him to ſupper: deſiring him at the ſame time to bring ſome friends with him, to whom ſhe promiſed to introduce ladies as eaſy and complying as herſelf. According to engagement Phæbiades and his company came; and found every thing agreeable to their wiſhes. After having ſupped, and drank freely, the ladies deſired leave to retire, in order to attend an evening ſacrifice, and promiſed to return. The requeſt was complied with, and the porters were ordered again to introduce them. They accordingly left the company, and gave their dreſs to ſome beardleſs youths; whom one of the women attending back to the porters, they, after a ſhort converſation with her, introduced to the company. The young men, according to their inſtructions, immediately diſpatched both Phæbiades and his companions*.

2. When Epaminondas advanced to Leuctræ, the Theſpians diſcovered a diſinclination to engage: which he plainly obſerved; but to avoid any confuſion in the army by their deſertion, at the inſtant of attack, ordered proclamation to be made, that whoever of the Bœotians wiſhed to leave the field, ſhould have liberty to do it. The Theſpians, armed as they were, took advantage of the proclamation,

* This whole relation has many marks of ſpuriouſneſs. It is no ſtratagem of war, but a pretended anecdote of Epaminondas. It mentions the wife of that illuſtrious chief; who was never married: as well as the ignoble death of Phæbiades, who died gallantly fighting againſt the Thebans.

and withdrew: while Epaminondas with the determined troops, that remained with him, obtained a glorious and ſplendid victory.

3. EPAMINONDAS having made an irruption into Peloponneſus, found the enemy encamped at Mount Onæum. A violent ſtorm of thunder happened at the time, which greatly intimidated the army. The augur declared againſt engaging. It is the very time ſaid Epaminondas for action: the thunder plainly ſignifying the confuſion of the army encamped. The turn, the general gave to the phænomenon, inſpired confidence in the ſoldiers; who with eagerneſs advanced to the attack.

4. IN the engagement at Leuctræ, Epaminondas commanded the Thebans, and Cleombrotus the Lacedæmonians. Victory remained long in ſuſpence: when Epaminondas called on his troops, to give him one ſtep more, and he would enſure the victory. They did ſo: and obtained it. The Spartan king Cleombrotus was killed in the action, and the Lacedæmonians left the enemy maſters of the field.

5. In a ſucceſsful expedition againſt the Lacedæmonians, Epaminondas had it in his power to have taken Lacedæmon: but retreated from before the city, without availing himſelf of the advantage he poſſeſſed. His colleagues threatening to bring him to account for his conduct, he ſhewed them the Arcadians, the Meſſenians, the Argives, and other Peloponneſians: "If 'ſaid he,' we were to extirpate the Lacedæmonians, all theſe would become our enemies; who are now our allies, not for the ſake of aggrandiſing Thebes, but to check the Spartan power."

6. EPAMINONDAS uſed to encourage the Thebans to try their ſtrength with the Lacedæmonians, who lived amongſt them, in wreſtling and boxing: and in thoſe exerciſes eaſily maſtering them, they conceived a contempt for the people; and thus learned to meet them in the field with confident ſuperiourity.

7. While in Peloponneſus, Epaminondas conſtantly drew up his army as for action at ſun-riſe: thereby impreſſing the enemy with a perſuaſion

perſuaſion that he meant to try it openly with them in the field. Deceived by this feint, he attacked them in the night, quite unprepared to receive him.

8. At the memorable action between the Lacedæmonians and their allies, commanded by Cleombrotus, and the Thebans under the conduct of Epaminondas; the Theban general contrived by two devices to ſupport the ſpirit of his troops, alarmed at the ſuperiour force of the enemy, whoſe army amounted to forty thouſand men. When they marched out of the city, he prepared a man to meet them, an entire ſtranger, with a garland on his head, and dreſſed with ribbands: who told them he was commiſſioned by Trophonius to inform them, that the victory would be their's, who began the attack. The Thebans, religiouſly impreſſed with this declaration of the oracle, Epaminondas then ordered to pay their vows at the temple of Hercules: after having previouſly inſtructed the prieſts to open the temple by night, take out the ruſty arms that lay there, furbiſh them up, and place them before the ſtatue of the god; after that with their attendants to quit the place, and appriſe nobody of what was done. No ſooner had the ſoldiers and their officers entered the temple, which they found open, without any ſervant attending, and the old ruſty arms new furbiſhed, bright and gleaming, than they raiſed their acclamations to the god; and advanced to battle, in confidence that they fought under the auſpices of Hercules. The event correſponded with the confidence they had aſſumed: and with a fifth of the number, they defeated an army of forty thouſand men.

9. To prevent an irruption that Epaminondas attempted into Lacedæmonia, a body of Spartans were detached to ſecure the paſs by the Onæan mountains: before which Epaminondas halted, and pretended immediately to attempt to force it. The Lacedæmonians continued all night under arms, ready to receive him: who on the contrary, giving orders to his men to refreſh and repoſe themſelves, deferred his attack

till the next morning; when ſtriking his tents, he engaged the enemy ſleeping, and weary for want of the night's reſt; eaſily defeated them, and forced the paſs.

10. EPAMINONDAS once attempted by an aſſault in the night to poſſeſs himſelf of the city of Lacedæmon, in the abſence of the Lacedæmonian forces. But Ageſilaus, by ſome deſerters being informed of his deſign, by a forced march threw himſelf with a body of troops into the town: and being there prepared to receive the enemy repulſed them with great loſs. Amidſt the confuſion that enſued in the Theban army, routed by night and vigorouſly preſſed by the Lacedæmonians, many threw away their ſhields; which Epaminondas obſerving, in order to conceal their diſgrace, directed the troops to deliver up their ſhields to the keepers of the baggage, and themſelves to attend the general only with their ſwords and ſpears. This ingratiated him with thoſe who had thrown away their arms; and who, in return for that act of favour, were moſt alert in executing his commands.

11. IN an engagement between the Thebans and Lacedæmonians, night coming on, and the victory remaining undetermined, both armies retreated to their reſpective camps. The Lacedæmonians, who encamped in regular order, with their proper regiments, and companies, miſſing their comrades, became acquainted with their loſs; and went under great diſcouragement and concern to reſt. Epaminondas, on the contrary, ordered the Thebans, without regard to their particular regiment, or company, to ſup as quick as they could, in whatever tent they happened to gain; and to ſupply each other with ſuch proviſions as they found at hand. Immediately after ſupper, they repaired to ſleep; which was the ſounder, as not being diſturbed by the known loſs of their comrades. The next morning they marched to the attack, well refreſhed and in full ſpirits; and obtained an eaſy victory over the enemy, faint and diſpirited by the loſs of their friends, and like an army that had already ſuffered a defeat.

12. WHEN Epaminondas took the field againſt the Lacedæmonians and

and their allies, whoſe army amounted to forty thouſand men: obſerving his troops, as might be expected, alarmed at the great ſuperiourity of the enemy, by various ſtratagems he endeavoured to keep up their ſpirits. There was in the temple of Pallas at Thebes a ſtatue of the goddeſs holding a ſpear in her right hand; and before her knees lay a ſhield. In the night he introduced an artiſt into the temple; who altered the ſtatue, and made her in her left hand hold the handle of the ſhield. In the morning, before the troops marched out, he ordered the temples to be all thrown open, on pretence of performing ſome offices of religion, before he went to battle. The ſoldiers remarked with aſtoniſhment the change in the goddeſs's appearance; which they conſidered as an aſſurance of her immediate protection. In a ſtudied harangue on the occaſion, Epaminondas uſed every argument to ſupport the impreſſion: and the Thebans engaged with ſuch confidence of ſucceſs, that cloſing with the enemy ſword in hand, they obtained againſt a great advantage in numbers, a compleat and brilliant victory.

13. While the Theſſalians were drawn up on the oppoſite ſide of the river Sperchius, in order to diſpute the Theban's paſſage over the bridge; Epaminondas, obſerving in the morning a cloud riſe from the eaſt of the river, commanded his men to carry every one of them two faggots of wood, one green and the other dry; and at midnight to ſet fire to the dry one, and lay the green one at the top of it. The night, the clouds, and the ſmoke ſo obſcured the air, that Epaminondas marched his army over the bridge undiſcovered; nor till the ſmoke and clouds were diſperſed, did the Theſſalians know the Theban army had croſſed the bridge; who then preſented themſelves in order of battle on the open plain.

14. To gain the advantage of ground againſt the Lacedæmonians, Epaminondas ordered his general of the horſe, with ſixteen hundred of the cavalry, to ride up and down, advancing a ſmall diſtance before the army. Having by this means raiſed a cloud of duſt, which prevented the

the enemy from obſerving his motions: he filed off, and took poſſeſſion of the higher ground. His poſition ſoon explained to the Lacedæmonians, what before they could not account for, the advanced movements of the cavalry.

15. To excite the Thebans to a vigorous attack on the Lacedæmonians, Epaminondas produced a great ſnake: and before the army, bruiſing its head, "Cruſh but the head," ſaid he, "and you ſee how impotent is the reſt of the body. Thus let us but bruiſe the head of the confederacy, that is the Lacedæmonians: and the power of the allies will be inſignificant." The Thebans felt the force of his obſervation, attacked and routed the Lacedæmonian troops; and the whole body of the allies immediately gave way and fled.

CHAP. IV.

PELOPIDAS.

PELOPIDAS advanced againſt two fortified towns of the Magneſians, diſtant about an hundred and twenty furlongs from each other. Upon approaching one, he ordered ſome horſemen, with chaplets on their head, on full ſpeed to ride up to him, and inform him that the other city was taken. This intelligence as ſoon as he received, he deſiſted from his preſent enterpriſe; and marched to the city which was ſuppoſed to have been taken. As ſoon as he came before the walls of it, he directed a great fire to be kindled; the ſmoke of which being ſeen in the other city, confirmed the people in their ſuſpicion of that city being taken, and burnt: and therefore to avoid the ſame calamity, on the return of Pelopidas, they opened their gates, and ſurrendered the city to him. With the forces he took in that town, he then advanced againſt the other; who, convinced of the fate of that already taken, ventured to hold out no longer, but ſurrendered their's alſo to the conquerour.

2. PELO-

2. PELOPIDAS, not having time to croſs a river in his retreat from Theſſaly, the enemy preſſing ſo cloſe upon his rear, encamped by the ſide of it; and in front of the enemy entrenched himſelf as ſtrongly as the time would permit. Then directing a great quantity of wood to be cut down, and laid in the trenches, he ordered his troops to reſt. About midnight he ſet the wood on fire; which burning very briſkly, interrupted the purſuit of the enemy, and gave him an opportunity of paſſing the river unmoleſted.

3. A LACEDÆMONIAN garriſon having been impoſed on Thebes; the commander of it fixed his quarters in the tower. It happened to be the feaſt of Venus: which the women celebrate with great feſtivity; while the men as ſpectators attend. To do honour to the goddeſs, the captain of the garriſon ordered ſome proſtitutes to be introduced: among whom entered Pelopidas, with a dagger concealed under his veſt; ſlew the captain of the garriſon, and delivered Thebes from the tyranny of the foe.

CHAP. V.

GORGIAS.

GORGIAS was the perſon, who firſt inſtituted the ſacred band: it conſiſted of thirty*, devoted to each other by mutual obligations of love. And ſuch was the effect of the paſſion, they had conceived for each other; that they were ſcarcely ever known to fly: but either died for each other, or gallantly conquered.

2. GORGIAS, who commanded a detachment of cavalry, having fallen in with a body of heavy-armed troops under the command of Phæbidas on a confined piece of ground, ordered a retreat; as if

* It ſhould be *three hundred*, which is the number of the *ſacred band*.

unable

unable to ſuſtain the attack of the heavy-armed troops. The enemy continued to preſs cloſely on him, till he had at laſt drawn them to an open plain: when Gorgias, hoiſting up a helmet on the top of a ſpear, gave a ſignal to his troops to face about. The impreſſion of the cavalry, as ſoon as they had room to act, the heavy-armed troops were no longer able to ſuſtain; but abandoned themſelves to flight: many were ſlain in the rout; and Phæbidas amongſt others with difficulty eſcaped to Theſpia.

CHAP. VI.

DERCYLLIDAS.

DERCYLLIDAS pledged himſelf with an oath to Medias the tyrant of Scepſis; that if he would come forth to a conference with him, he ſhould have free liberty to return into the city. The tyrant accordingly advanced to meet him. At that conference Dercyllidas ordered him on peril of his life to direct the gates to be opened. Thus intimidated, he gave the orders impoſed on him, and the gates were thrown open. "Now," ſaid Dercyllidas, "return into your city: for that I engaged to you. But I and my army will enter too."

CHAP. VII.

ALCETAS.

ALCETAS the Lacedæmonian, having planned an expedition from Iſtiæa, in order to conceal his ſtrength, embarked part of his forces on board one trireme; which he ordered to manœuvre in ſight of the enemy. When taking his opportunity, he privately ſailed with his

his whole force, conſiſting of three triremes, and poſſeſſed himſelf of all the enemy's ſtores.

CHAP. VIII.

ARCHILAIDAS.

ARCHILAIDAS the Lacedæmonian purſuing his rout through a ſuſpicious country, where he thought it very probable ambuſcades might be formed to intercept him, though he had received no intelligence of any, ſignified it to his army as a fact, of which he had been appriſed; and ordered them therefore to march in order of battle. His apprehenſions were eventually verified; a ſtrong force having been placed in ambuſh to ſurpriſe him: whom he inſtantly attacked; and unprepared to receive the Lacedæmonians, as not ſuſpecting any preparation for action on their ſide, eaſily cut to pieces.

CHAP. IX.

ISIDAS.

IN conſequence of the fatal battle at Leuctra, the Thebans having placed a garriſon at Gythium, a port of the Lacedæmonians, Iſidas aſſociated with him a hundred youths of his acquaintance; who oiling* themſelves, bound chaplets of olive on their temples, and, concealing under their arms a dagger, run naked upon the plain, Iſidas being firſt, and the reſt following him. And while the Thebans, deceived by their appearance, ſuppoſed they were only entertaining themſelves with

* It was a practice both with the Greeks and Romans, previous to exerciſes of agility, ſuch as running, wreſtling, &c. to oil their limbs; in order to render them more pliant and flexile.

ſports; the Lacedæmonians with ſword in hand fell upon them, killed ſome, and, expelling the reſt from the town, regained the poſſeſſion of Gythium.

CHAP. X.

CLEANDRIDAS.

IN an expedition againſt Terenis, Cleandridas marched his army under cover of a hollow way, in order to ſurpriſe the city. But the Terenenſians, appriſed by deſerters of his deſign, marched out, and ſhewed themſelves on the eminences above him. His troops were diſheartened at the advantageous poſition; when Cleandridas called out, "Courage, my lads;" and then ordered a herald to proclaim aloud, "Let thoſe of the Terenenſians, who can, anſwer the ſignal agreed on, and they will be ſafe." The Terenenſians, induced by this proclamation to ſuppoſe themſelves betrayed, precipitately retreated, in order to ſecure the city; leaving Cleandridas to purſue his march in ſafety: who, after having ravaged the country, retreated without moleſtation.

2. CLEANDRIDAS, the Thurian, after having defeated the Leucanians, led the Thurians to the field of battle: and there obſerved to them, on the ſpot where they had been poſted, the cloſe and compact manner in which they fought, and to which he told them they owed the victory: while the enemy, quitting their poſts, and looſening their ranks, were not able to ſuſtain their united ſhock. While he was thus haranguing them, the Leucanians had rallied, and with a conſiderable acceſſion of force were advancing againſt him. Cleandridas retreated to a confined and narrow ſpot, where the enemy's ſuperiority of numbers was rendered uſeleſs; and his own troops extended a front equal to theirs. By this manœuvre the Leucanians received a ſecond defeat.

3. To increaſe the ſuſpicions, that were entertained by the Tegeates againſt

againſt their chiefs, as being ſecretly in the intereſt of the Lacedæmonians, Cleandridas, when he ravaged the country, from all devaſtation ſcrupulouſly exempted their eſtates. Diſtinguiſhed by ſuch marks of the enemy's attention, they were immediately charged with treaſon: and, finding the reſentment of the people run high againſt them, for fear of being puniſhed by a falſe imputation of treaſon, became really guilty of it, and betrayed to him the city: thus neceſſitated for their own preſervation to realize a falſe ſuſpicion.

4. In the Leucanian war, Cleandridas, after having defeated the enemy with half their number, apprehenſive that he ſhould not be able again to bring them to an action, if they knew his ſtrength, preſented a narrow front; forming the phalanx in depth. The Leucanians, deſpiſing the ſuppoſed inferiority of his numbers, thought of nothing but how to prevent the eſcape of the enemy: and accordingly extended their ranks, in order to ſurround them. After they had by this motion precluded their own retreat, Cleandridas ordered his officers to extend their cohorts as wide as they could; and thereby ſurrounded the Leucanians, who were all cut to pieces, except a few, who baſely ſaved themſelves by flight.

5. Cleandridas always diſſuaded a regular engagement againſt a ſuperiour force: obſerving, that when the lion's ſkin was not ſufficient, it was neceſſary to ſew to it the fox's tail.

CHAP. XI.

PHARACIDAS.

THE Carthaginians having declared war againſt the Syracuſans, Pharacidas fell in with a Carthaginian ſquadron, and took nine ſhips; which, having the enemy's main fleet, of much ſuperiour force, to paſs,

he manned with his own troops and ſailors. The Carthaginians, knowing the ſhips, and ſuppoſing them their friends, ſuffered them to paſs unmoleſted into the haven of Syracuſe.

CHAP. XII.

DEIPHANTES.

DEIPHANTES directed the Dorians, in order to bring the Argives to an action, to ravage their country; and himſelf at the ſame time embarked a detachment, with which he landed near a mountain in the vicinity of the Argive camp. A ſcout was diſpatched to give information to the Argives of the depredations the Dorians committed: who immediately marched out to engage them. Deiphantes, with his detachment, in the mean time ſallied out from his ambuſcade; and in the abſence of the army took poſſeſſion of their camp. The parents, children, and wives of the Argives, having thus fallen into the hands of the enemy; to redeem them, they delivered up to the Dorians the country and cities of which they had diſpoſſeſſed them.

CHAP. XIII.

EURYTION.

EURYTION, King of Sparta, finding the war in which he had engaged againſt the Arcadians protracted beyond his expectation, in order to throw the city into factions, diſpatched a herald to inform them; the Lacedæmonians would raiſe the ſiege, if they would baniſh the guilty: under which term he diſtinguiſhed thoſe, who had been concerned

concerned in the deſtruction of Ægina. Thoſe, accordingly, who had been inſtrumental in the maſſacre committed there, apprehenſive leſt they ſhould be ſacrificed by the people for the purchaſe of peace, banded together; on promiſe of freedom aſſociated with them the ſlaves, and put to the ſword all whom they thought inimical to their party. The city thus divided into two factions, they, whoſe object was peace, aſſembled in a particular quarter of the town by themſelves, and threw open the gates to the enemy: who by the Mantinæan faction obtained what they were unable to effect by force of arms.

CHAP. XIV.

EPHORI.

THE Ephori, having been appriſed of a conſpiracy, formed by Cynadon, and not thinking it adviſeable to ſeiſe him in the city, privately diſpatched a party of horſe to the borders of Lacedæmon; where it was contrived, Cynadon, attended by two ſoldiers, ſhould be invited to a private conference. As ſoon as he arrived on the ſpot, the horſe, who had been diſpatched for that purpoſe, ſeiſed him, and by torture made him confeſs the reſt of the conſpirators. His confeſſion was ſent to the Ephori, who ordered them to execution; which, a previous form or trial not being required, was attended with no tumult or confuſion.

2. HAVING learned that a riot was intended, the ſignal of which was to be a cap thrown up in the midſt of the forum; the crier was ordered to make this proclamation: "All who are for the cap being thrown up, quit the forum." Accordingly all who were concerned in the intended riot, finding their deſign was diſcovered, deſiſted from the execution of it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

HIPPODAMAS.

WHILE Hippodamas was blocked up by the Arcadians in Praſiæ, and reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions; the Spartans diſpatched to him a courier, whom the Arcadians intercepted, and conducting him to the walls, gave him permiſſion to deliver his diſpatches there, but would not ſuffer him to enter the city. Hippodamas from the walls inſtantly called out to him, "Tell the Ephori to deliver us from the woman, that is bound in the temple of Chalciœcus." The Arcadians could make nothing of the injunction: but the Lacedæmonians underſtood the deliverance he required, to be from famine. For there hung in the temple of Chalciœcus a picture of Famine; a woman pale, and emaciated, with her hands tied behind her. Thus did Hippodamas ſo contrive his information, as to keep it ſecret from the enemy, but render it plain to thoſe for whom it was intended.

CHAP. XVI.

GASTRON.

IN the Perſian war, Gaſtron the Lacedæmonian commanding in Ægypt, previous to a battle, made the Græcians and Egyptians change their arms and dreſs. The Græcians appeared in the Egyptian habit, and the Ægyptians in that of Greece. He drew up the Greeks in the front; and the Ægyptians formed behind, to ſupport them. The Greeks with their accuſtomed reſolution maintained the poſt of danger; and

and opening the way before them, the Ægyptians, animated by their example, advanced boldly to the charge. The Perſians ſeeing this, and ſuppoſing them alſo to be Greeks, gave way, and a general rout enſued.

CHAP. XVII.

MEGACLIDAS.

MEGACLIDAS, in his retreat before a ſuperiour force, poſted himſelf on a rough and woody mountain; where being cloſely preſſed by the enemy, he divided his army: directing the moſt cumbrous and uſeleſs part of it, to endeavour to make their eſcape through the woods; knowing the enemy would be appriſed of the attempt. And, while they were engaged in purſuit of the fugitives, he with the choiceſt part of his troops took a different rout, and made good his retreat.

CHAP. XVIII.

HARMOSTES.

HARMOSTES the Lacedæmonian being cloſely beſieged by the Athenians, and having no more than two days proviſion left; the Spartans diſpatched a herald to him: whom the Athenians conducted to the walls, but would not permit him to enter the city. The herald from thence proclaimed aloud, "The Lacedæmonians bid you perſiſt; for you will ſoon receive relief." To this Harmoſtes replied, "Tell the Lacedæmonians to be in no hurry; for we have yet ſix months proviſion in ſtore." The Athenians, as winter now approached, not caring for a tedious winter campaign, raiſed the ſiege, and diſbanded their army.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

THIBRON.

THIBRON, having attacked a fort in Aſia, prevailed on the governor to meet him, and try if they could negotiate a truce; in which, if they failed, he engaged by oath to reconduct him into the fort. The governor accordingly met him, and the conference was begun: during which, the garriſon being more remiſs through expectation of a truce taking place; the beſiegers took advantage of it, and in a vigorous attack carried the fort by ſtorm. Thibron, agreeably to his oath, reconducted the governor to the fort; and there ordered him to be executed.

CHAP. XX.

DEMARATUS.

THE intelligence, which Demaratus communicated to the Lacedæmonians, concerning Xerxes's army, he engraved on a tablet; which he afterwards covered with wax: that, if intercepted, no characters might appear.

CHAP. XXI.

ERIPPIDAS.

AS ſoon as Erippidas arrived at Trachinian Heraclæa, he ſummoned an aſſembly; which he ſurrounded with armed troops, and ordered

dered the Trachinians to be ſeated by themſelves. He then demanded of them an account of their iniquitous practices, as the laws of Sparta in criminal caſes required. This done, he ordered the ſoldiers to chain the offenders, carry them out of the city, and execute them.

CHAP. XXII.

ISCHOLAUS.

ISCHOLAUS obſerving at Ænos the Athenian fleet in ſtrong force hovering near the coaſt, and ſuſpecting their intention to cut out ſome of his ſhips from the harbour, ordered them to be ſecured by their maſts to a tower, that ſtood near the ramparts; the ſhips neareſt the ſtrand being faſtened immediately to the tower, and the reſt to each other. In the night the Athenians made the attempt that Iſcholaus ſuſpected: of which the people of Ænos informed by the guard immediately ſallied forth, and made great havock among the Athenians both by ſea and land.

2. ISCHOLAUS's rout lying through a country, in one part ſteep and craggy, and full of precipices, while in the other the enemy had advantageouſly poſted themſelves on a mountain that commanded the plain below; when the wind was very high, he ordered a quantity of wood to be ſet on fire. The enemy by the ſmoak and fire driven from their poſt, Iſcholaus took the advantage, and paſſed them without loſs or danger.

3. ISCHOLAUS, when in Dryes beſieged by Chabrias, who was advancing the ram to the walls, himſelf gave orders for a part of the wall to be demoliſhed: ſuppoſing that it would be attended with this double effect; that it would engage his own ſoldiers to fight more reſo-

lutely, when they found themſelves no longer protected by the wall; and alſo diſcourage the enemy from carrying on their works, when they ſaw how little the beſieged depended on their fortifications. And ſo effectually the ſtratagem ſucceeded, that the enemy would not venture to enter a city, where the inhabitants appeared actuated by deſperation.

4. HAVING been informed that ſome of the guard intended to betray the city, then inveſted by the Athenians, to the enemy, Iſcholaus ordered a mercenary to be added to every ſentry. And by this manœuvre, without the appearance of ſuſpicion, he prevented the execution of any traiterous deſign.

CHAP. XXIII.

MNASIPPIDAS.

THE enemy having come up with Mnaſippidas, who had a very inferiour force, attacked him in the night: when he ordered his light-armed troops and trumpets to wheel round; and after they had turned the enemy's flank, to ſound the charge, and fall upon their rear with a ſhower of darts. Finding themſelves thus attacked both in front and rear, they made a precipitate retreat; apprehending they were in danger of being hemmed in by a numerous army.

CHAP. XXIV.

ANTALCIDAS.

ANTALCYDAS finding, while he lay with a ſuperiour fleet at Abydos, that the Athenian veſſels at Tenedos would not venture to join Iphicrates at Byzantium, who, he was informed, had attacked the

Chalce-

Chalcedonians, his allies, gave orders to ſail to Chalcedon: but weighing anchor, he took his ſtation near Cyzicum. When the movement of Antalcydas was known at Tenedos, it was determined immediately to ſail and join Iphicrates at Byzantium. And as ſoon as they approached the enemy's fleet, which crowded into a bay were not at a diſtance diſcovered; Antalcidas ſailed out, and vigorouſly attacked them: ſunk ſome, and made capture of the reſt.

CHAP. XXIV.

AGESIPOLIS.

AT the ſiege of Mantinæa, which was conducted by Ageſipolis, the Lacedæmonian forces were joined by their allies; who, though well affected to the Mantinæans, were obliged to attend the Lacedæmonians in that expedition, as being maſters of Greece. Ageſipolis having received intelligence, that the allies ſecretly ſupplied the beſieged with whatever they occaſionally wanted, to prevent ſuch intercourſe in future, let looſe a number of dogs about the camp; and particularly about that part of it, which fronted the city. This ſtopped the correſpondence; no one venturing to paſs between the camp and the city, for fear of being diſcovered by the barking of the dogs.

CHAP. XXVI.

STHENIPPUS.

STHENIPPUS the Lacedæmonian, pretending reſentment at having been fined by the Ephori, retired to the Tegeates; who readily received him. And while he reſided there, he found means to bribe a party,

that were inimical to Ariſtocles the prince; and by their aſſiſtance, when he was going to attend a ſacrifice, fell upon him, and ſlew him.

CHAP. XXVII.

CALLICRATIDAS.

CALLICRATIDAS the Cyrenæan deſired the præfect of the tower of Magneſia, to receive four of his ſick: which requeſt being complied with, four perſons in compleat armour, and with ſwords under their veſts, laid themſelves down upon beds; and twenty young men, with arms concealed, carried the litters. As ſoon as they were introduced within the walls, they fell upon the centinels, and ſlew them; and made themſelves maſters of the fort.

2. WHEN Callicratidas was beſieged at Magneſia, and the enemy were proceeding to advance the battering-ram; at a place, leaſt acceſſible to the aſſailants, he directed a breach to be made in the walls: and while the enemy's attention was engaged in the quarter where they directed the attack, he paſſed the breach, and in a vigorous ſortie falling on their rear, repulſed them with great loſs, and made no ſmall number priſoners. After his return to the city, he repaired the breach he had directed to be made in the walls: of which the enemy had been too warmly engaged to take advantage.

CHAP. XXVIII.

MAGAS.

WHEN Magas left Cyrene, to proceed on a foreign expedition; he committed to his friends the charge of the city. But the darts and other

other weapons of war he ſecured in the tower; and diſmantled the walls. That, in his abſence if any innovations ſhould be attempted, he might ſecure an eaſy entrance into it on his return.

2. MAGAS, having made himſelf maſter of Parætonium, directed the watch to kindle fires in the light-houſe both in the evening, and early in the morning, as if he were there. And by this deception he penetrated unmoleſted into the country, as far as the place that is called Chius.

CHAP. XXIX.

CLEONYMUS.

CLEONYMUS, King of Lacedæmon, at the ſiege of Trœzenes, poſted againſt different parts of the city expert dartſmen; and ordered them to hurl into the town javelins with this inſcription: "I am come to aſſert the liberties of Trœzenes." The Trœzenians alſo, whom he had taken priſoners, he ſent home without ranſom: that they might communicate to their fellow citizens the happy intelligence. Eudamidas, however, an officer of experience, and of indefatigable attention, warmly oppoſed his intereſts. And while the different factions were engaged in animoſities and contention within the gates; Cleonymus ſcaled the walls, made himſelf maſter of the city, and impoſed on it a Spartan garriſon.

2. AT the ſiege of Edeſſa, when a breach was effected in the walls, and the ſpear-men, (whoſe ſpears were ſixteen cubits long) ſallied out upon the aſſailants, Cleonymus deepened his phalanx, and ordered the front line to uſe no arms; but with both hands to ſeize the enemy's ſpears, and hold them faſt; while the next rank immediately advanced, and cloſed upon them. Their ſpears thus ſeized, the men retreated;

retreated; but the next rank, preſſing on them, either took them priſoners, or ſlew them. By this mauœuvre of Cleonymus the long and formidable ſpear was rendered uſeleſs, and became rather an incumbrance, than a weapon of offence.

CHAP. XXX.

CLEARCHUS.

IN order to procure a tower to be erected in Heraclæa, Clearchus directed the mercenaries to ſteal out by night, and to plunder, rob, maim, and do all the miſchief they could. Under thoſe injuries the citizens complained to Clearchus, and begged his protection: who told them, it was impoſſible to prevent the depredations of the troops otherwiſe than by confining them within walls; a meaſure he wiſhed to recommend to them. They conſented to his propoſal, and marked out a part of the city; where he raiſed a wall, and erected a tower: which however were no protection to them, but ſecured to him a power of committing every irregularity he pleaſed.

2. CLEARCHUS, tyrant of Heraclæa, gave out, that he intended to diſmiſs his guards, and reſtore the republic into the hands of the THREE HUNDRED: who accordingly met at the ſenate houſe, to make their acknowledgments to him for the reſtoration of their liberty. Thither he repaired; and, placing an armed force at the ſenate door, directed the crier to call them out: and, the ſoldiers ſeizing them one by one, he ordered them all to be conveyed to the tower.

3. CLEARCHUS, ſuſpecting the number of citizens too great for the ſafety of his government, and having no pretence to rid himſelf of them, undertook an expedition againſt the city Aſticum in the midſt of the dog-days; compleating his levies, of youths from ſixteen years of age to twelve. On approaching Aſticum, he encamped the citizens

on

on a flat moraſs, full of dead and ſtagnated waters; and ordered them to watch the motions of the Thracians: while he himſelf with the mercenaries, as if intending to ſuſtain all the danger of the ſiege, took his poſt on an eminence, ſhaded with wood, and refreſhed with rivulets. In this poſition he protracted the ſiege, till he loſt all the citizens: the ſtagnate waters at that hot ſeaſon neceſſarily producing in the camp fatal diſeaſes. Having thus effected his purpoſe, he raiſed the ſiege; and pretended the citizens died by an infectious diſeaſe.

CHAP. XXXI.

ARISTOMENES.

ARISTOMENES the Meſſenian once ſerved in a naval engagement as an ally to Dionyſius: when opening his lines a little, and finding ſome of the enemy's ſhips in the midſt of his diviſion, he called out to his officers, "Let them fly." The enemy hearing this, and ſuppoſing the defeat general, gave up the action, and abandoned themſelves to flight.

2. AFTER three ſplendid* victories obtained over the Lacedæmonians, Ariſtomenes general of the Meſſenians, diſabled with wounds, was with many others taken priſoner. They were ſentenced by the Lacedæmonians to be all thrown down the precipice; the reſt naked, but Ariſtomenes, in reſpect to his bravery, in arms. The others underwent the ſentence, and were killed on the ſpot: but the broad ſhield of Ariſtomenes, being in ſome meaſure ſupported by the air, let him gently down upon the ground. Looking up, he ſaw nothing above,

* The original is, τρις εκατομφονια θυσας. A literal tranſlation would have ſounded aukwardly in Engliſh: but the meaning is, that he had three times ſacrificed to Mars for having by his own hand ſlain in an action a hundred of the enemy.

but

but inacceſſible precipices; yet, poſſeſſing a mind above the pregravation of deſpair, he did not relinquiſh all hopes of ſafety: when examining the mountain round, he at laſt perceived a cleft; and into it ſome foxes enter. When breaking off from a dead body a bone, he caught one of the foxes by the tail; and, though ſeverely bitten by it, would not quit his hold: but following it into the cleft, and clearing away the rubbiſh with the bone he held in his other hand, he eſcaped through the mountain; and arrived at the Meſſenian camp, juſt as they were going to try the iſſue of another battle. He immediately armed; and put himſelf at their head. The Lacedæmonians, ſeeing Ariſtomenes, whom they had thrown from the precipice, a puniſhment from which no one ever eſcaped with life, leading the enemy's troops againſt them, and again engaging in battle, precipitately quitted the field; flying before him, as a being more than human.

3. ARISTOMENES, another time priſoner with the Lacedæmonians, and bound with cords, went ſo cloſe to a fire that was in the priſon, as to burn the cords; then fell upon the guards, and ſlew them. And privately entering Sparta, he fixed up their ſhields in the temple of Chalciœcus with this inſcription; "Ariſtomenes has eſcaped from the Lacedæmonians unhurt:" after which he returned to Meſſena.

4. UPON the day when the Lacedæmonians made their annual ſacrifice to Caſtor and Pollux, Ariſtomenes and a friend, mounted on two white horſes, and ornamented with gold ſtars on their heads, as ſoon as night came on, ſhewed themſelves at a little diſtance from the Lacedæmonians; who with their wives and children were celebrating the feſtival on the plain without the city. They, ſuperſtitiouſly believing them to be Caſtor and Pollux, the more freely indulged in wine and paſtime: when the two ſuppoſed deities, alighting from their horſes, advanced with ſword in hand amongſt them; and, after leaving many dead on the ſpot, remounted their horſes, and made their eſcape.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

CINEAS.

IN an engagement between the Thebans and Mantinenſians, both ſides claimed the victory: the Mantinenſians however propoſed to ſend heralds to the Thebans, aſking leave to carry off their dead. But Cineas the Athenian, whoſe brother Demetrius lay dead in the field, oppoſed the propoſition: declaring, he would ſooner leave his brother without a ſepulchre, than give up the honour of the victory to the enemy: "for," added he, "to prevent the enemy from erecting trophies on our's and our country's diſgrace, my brother ſacrificed his life." Moved by the reſolution of Cyneas, the Mantinenſians relinquiſhed their deſign.

CHAP. XXXIII.

HEGETORIDES.

WHILE the Thaſians were cloſely beſieged by the Athenians, and numbers daily periſhed by war and famine; none venturing to propoſe a treaty with the enemy on account of a law then in force, which made it a capital offence to propoſe a treaty with the Athenians: Hegetorides, putting a rope about his neck, entered the aſſembly, and thus addreſſed them; "Fellow citizens, you will diſpoſe of me as you think proper, and as may ſerve your intereſt beſt; but in pity to the reſt of the citizens, who have hitherto ſurvived the havock, that famine and the ſword have made among us, repeal the law that precludes all deliberations concerning peace." The Thaſians took his advice; abſolved Hegetorides, and repealed the law.

CHAP. XVII.

DINIAS.

DINIAS the ſon of Teleſippus, by birth a Pherœan, removed to Cranon a city of Theſſaly, where he ſupported himſelf by catching birds on the lakes and rivers; and there advanced himſelf from that low ſtation to the ſovereignty by the following devices. The Cranonians for the watch and guard of the city uſed to pay by agreement a certain ſtipend a year. Dinias took it upon ſtipulated terms; and for three years performed his office ſo diligently, that the citizens could walk out more ſecure in the night, than by day. His conduct in this office gained him great reputation; and to ingratiate himſelf further with the people, he hired more watchmen, in order to keep every thing in greater ſecurity. The collectorſhip of the tenths of corn being vacant, he perſuaded his younger brother, who had then never held any publick office, magnifying it as a very lucrative employment, to hire it. His brother, thus appointed collector, aſſociated with him a number of young men proportionate to the different tracts of land, from whence he was to collect the corn: and on the celebration of a feſtival, which is called Tænia, when the Cranonians give themſelves up to banqueting and merriment, Dinias uniting to his own dependents, the watchmen, the gatherers of corn, that were connected with his brother, with this band of ſober men he attacked and eaſily defeated thoſe who were drunk; ſlew more than a thouſand of the citizens, and aſſumed the ſovereignty of Cranon.

CHAP. XXXV.

NICON.

NICON, a free-booter from Pheræ in Peloponneſus, having in frequent irruptions committed great depredations on the Meſſenians; Agemachus, their general, at laſt ſurpriſed, and took him. Being brought before their aſſembly, he engaged to the Meſſenians, if they would ſpare his life, to put them in poſſeſſion of Pheræ. To this they agreed: when fixing on a dark night, he took with him a few attendants, with bundles of ſtraw on their ſhoulders, directing a greater number at a ſhort diſtance to follow him. About two o'clock in the morning he arrived at the gates, called to the centinels, and gave them the word. Knowing his voice, as well as the word, they inſtantly opened the gates: and Nicon and his party entering, each threw down his bundle, and drawing their ſwords ſlew the centinels; and the reſt, ruſhing in, made themſelves maſters of the city.

CHAP. XXXVI.

DIÆTAS.

DIÆTAS general of the Achaians, finding himſelf unable by a regular ſiege to carry the city of the Heræenſes, contrived by ſtratagem to effect what he had in vain attempted by force of arms. By large bribes he won over ſome of the citizens to his purpoſe; who took frequent opportunities of attending the centinels to the gates: and familiarly converſing with them, and treating them with entertainments, they found means to take an impreſſion of the keys, which they ſent

to Diætas; who had keys made exactly to the pattern. Theſe he ſent back to the confederates; directing them to fix a night, when they would open their gates to him. By the device of the keys having with a ſelect body of troops entered the city: Diætas found it neceſſary to ſupport that device with another. For after the Heræenſes had been alarmed, and appriſed of what had happened; they ſallied forth in great numbers, with the advantage of being well acquainted with every part of the city. Diætas, ſeeing the appearance of a formidable oppoſition, diſperſed his trumpets in various parts of the city; directing them every where to ſound the attack. The Heræenſes, hearing the ſound of the enemy's trumpets from all ſides, and from thence ſuppoſing them in poſſeſſion of every quarter of the town, abandoned the city, and fled. They afterwards ſent an embaſſy to Diætas, requeſting permiſſion to return to their own country; and engaging to the Achaians future ſubjection.

CHAP. XXXVII.

TESAMENUS.

TESAMENUS in his march obſerving a number of birds hovering over a particular ſpot, without ever ſettling, ſuppoſed ſome men in the place, which kept them on the wing. On reconnoitrng the ground, he found the Ionians in ambuſh; whom he attacked, and cut to pieces.

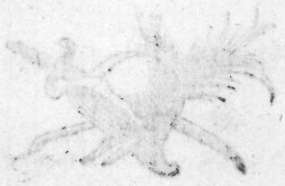
CHAP. XXXVIII.

ONOMARCHUS.

ONAMARCHUS the Phocian, when Elatia was beſieged by the Bœotians, ordered all the inhabitants out of the town, and locked the gates.

gates. In one rank he placed the fathers, mothers, children, and wives. And, ranged before them, he formed in order of battle all that could bear arms. Pelopidas concluding, from ſuch appearance of deſperation, that they were determined either to conquer, or die, retreated without hazarding an engagement.

2. When Onomarchus commanded againſt the Macedonians, he covered his rear with a ſteep and craggy mountain; and on the tops of it placed in ambuſh a number of men expert in throwing ſtones, furniſhed with huge ſtones and pieces of ragged rocks for the purpoſe. He then advanced, and formed his army on the plain. The Macedonians began the attack with their javelins; which the Phocians pretending themſelves unable to ſuſtain, retreated half way up the mountain. The Macedonians briſkly purſued them; till they came within reach of the ambuſcade: who then diſcovered themſelves; and with huge ſtones annoyed the Macedonian phalanx. Onomarchus then gave the ſignal for the Phocians to face about, and renew the charge. The Macedonians vigorouſly attacked by the troops next to them, and grievouſly annoyed by thoſe above, with great difficulty made good a precipitate retreat: on which occaſion, Philip king of Macedon is ſaid vauntingly to have cried out, "We do not fly, but retreat like rams, to renew the attack with greater power."



POLYÆNUS'S

STRATAGEMS OF WAR.

PREFATORY ADDRESS.

TO your moſt ſacred majeſties, Antonius and Verus, I addreſs this Third Book of Stratagems: from whence I truſt ſome advantage may be derived as well by the ſtateſman, as the ſoldier. For to know how to negotiate advantageouſly with an enemy, and to preſerve good government at home, are as much in the province of imperatorial ſcience, as conduct in the field. This is a truth, yourſelves illuſtrate; who, veſted with imperatorial power, and ſovereigns of the world, are ever forming deſigns for the glory and happineſs of your ſubjects, and in the boſom of peace planning operations of war. Your real exploits in the field I forbear to mention; they are known to all the world.

BOOK III. CHAP. I.

DEMOSTHENES.

DEMOSTHENES, finding Pylos, a city of the Lacedæmonians, ſtrongly garriſoned, directed his march to Acra. The Lacedæmonians apprehending what he intended as a feint to be his real deſign, quitted Pylos,

Pylos, and marched with all expedition to Acra, hoping to ſurpriſe Demoſthenes immediately on his landing. But on their approach thither, Demoſthenes expeditiouſly returned to Pylos, of which evacuated by the garriſon he eaſily made himſelf maſter.

2. DEMOSTHENES, when he commanded the Acarnanians and Amphilochians againſt the Peloponneſians, encamped in front of the enemy, a large torrent parting the camps. Obſerving the enemy greatly to out-number him, and apprehending their object would be to ſurround him, in a hollow place aptly formed for an abuſcade he concealed a body of heavy armed troops, with three hundred of the allies: directing them, if the enemy attempted to ſurround him, to ſally forth and fall upon their rear. The Peloponneſians, as he expected, extended their lines, endeavouring to ſurround the allies: when the ambuſcade ſallying forth, fell upon their rear, and with eaſe decided the victory.

CHAP. II.

PACHES.

PACHES, having laid ſiege to Notium, propoſed to Hippias, general of Piſſithnus, a conference; engaging to him by oath, that if he would come out and meet him, he ſhould be reconducted into the city alive and ſafe. Hippias accordingly advanced to meet him: when Paches, leaving him to the care of a guard, took the city by ſtorm; then directed Hippias to be conducted into it, agreeably to his engagement, alive and ſafe; and afterwards to be executed.

CHAP. III.

TOLMIDAS.

THE Athenians, to enable Tolmidas to man a fleet, voted him a compliment of a thouſand men, with permiſſion to chuſe them. When going up to each of the youths, he told him that he intended to make choice of him; but that it would have a better appearance, if he would give in his name, and offer himſelf as volunteer. Three thouſand accordingly gave in their names. From thoſe therefore, who did not give in their names, Tolmidas choſe the thouſand, the ſtate had allotted him: and with the three thouſand, that had turned out as volunteers, was enabled to man fifty ſhips with an addition of four thouſand men, inſtead of one thouſand.

CHAP. IV.

PHORMIO.

PHORMIO had invaded Chalcis, and brought off ſome booty; with which he afterwards landed at Cyros. Thither the Chalcidenſians ſent an embaſſy to him, demanding a reſtitution of what they had loſt. Having with ſecreſy and diſpatch fitted out a tender,* as if juſt arrived from Athens, he pretended that the people had ordered him immediately home: made full reſtitution to the ambaſſadors of whatever they demanded, and inſtantly got under ſail; but dropped anchor at a little

* The υπηρεσιαι, which I have tranſlated "Tenders," were light ſhips fitted for particular uſes: ſometimes built for victualling ſhips to ſupply the main fleet with proviſions; and ſometimes for expedition, to carry expreſſes, and to obſerve the enemy's motions.

iſland, no great diſtance off. And while the Chalcidenſians, ſeeing their property reſtored, and ſuppoſing Phormio to have ſailed for Athens, neglected to poſt guards either in the city, or the country; he ſurpriſed them, unprepared for defence, was very near making himſelf maſter of the city, and brought off from the country immenſe booty.

2. PHORMIO with only thirty ſail reſolved to face the enemy, whoſe force conſiſted of fifty: and forming his little force into five lines, wore away before the adverſe fleet under an eaſy ſail. The enemy feeling their ſuperiority, and eager to engage, crowded all the ſail they could, to come up with them: by which means the ſwifteſt ſailing veſſels left the reſt at a diſtance. Phormio, obſerving this want of order in the enemy, kept his lines: and vigorouſly attacking the ſhips that came firſt into action, ſunk them; and then bore down upon thoſe that were next. The other captains, in their reſpective lines, obſerving the ſame manœuvre, gave the enemy no time to form; and left them no hope of ſafety, but in flight.

3. PHORMIO in a ſingle ſhip, being attacked near Naupactum by two, took the advantage of a heavy merchantman that lay at anchor deeply laden; and doubling round her, directed his beak with full force againſt the ſtern of the ſloweſt ſailer, and ſunk her before the other could come up to her aſſiſtance: after which he eaſily defeated the other.

CHAP. V.

CLISTHENES.

WHILE Cliſthenes lay before Cirra; the oracle declared, the city ſhould be invincible till the ſea reached the ſacred land. The Cirrenſes looked upon themſelves as perfectly ſafe in this aſſurance; the ſacred land, to which their city was contiguous, being ſituated far diſtant from the

the ocean. But Cliſthenes, informed of the oracle, immediately devoted to Apollo both the city and the country: ſo that every thing being thus made ſacred, the oracle was fulfilled; and the ſea that waſhed the country of Cyrra, waſhed the ſacred land. Cliſthenes afterwards ſucceeded in his enterpriſe, and reduced the place: when the country was conſecrated in form to the god.

CHAP. VI.

PHRYNICUS.

WHEN Phrynicus commanded in Samos, he formed a deſign to betray the city; but being charged with it, before the plot was ripe for execution, conſcious of the intention, and afraid of conviction, he changed ſides and betrayed the enemy; appriſing the Samians of all their movements before they took place. In ſuch a part, where the wall was weakeſt, he told them, they would direct all their force: but come, ſaid he, let us fortify it before they arrive. They did ſo; and compleated their works in time. After which the operations of the enemy were conducted, juſt as Phrynicus had informed them they would be. Alcibiades, who commanded them, ſuſpecting the duplicity of Phrynicus afterwards ſent letters to the Samians, informing them of the intended treaſon. But the Samians were too much prejudiced in favour of Phrynicus, from the good meaſures he had adviſed, to pay any regard to the letters of an enemy.

CHAP. VII.

LACHARES.

LACHARES, after Athens was taken by Demetrius, in the habit of a ſlave, with his face blacked, and on his arm a baſket of money covered with dung, ſlipped out through a little gate; and mounting his horſe, with all poſſible expedition endeavoured to make his eſcape. But a party of Tarentine horſe being diſpatched after him; when cloſe at his heels, Lachares ſcattered the golden Darius's on the road. The men diſmounted, to pick up the money: and the purſuit by that means interrupted gave Lachares time to make his eſcape into Bœotia.

2. WHEN Thebes was taken, Lachares hid himſelf in the common ſewers: and after remaining there three or four days, he ventured out in the night, got ſafe to Delphos, and from thence to Lyſimachus.

3. WHEN the enemy had made themſelves maſters of Seſtos, Lachares concealed himſelf ſome days in a pit: having with him juſt proviſion enough to ſupport Nature. It fortunately happened, that a woman's burial paſſed cloſe by; when throwing a woman's gown round him, with a black veil on his head, he mixed among the mourners, and thus eſcaped out of the gates, and ſafely reached Lyſimachia.

CHAP. VIII.

ARCHINUS.

THE Argives had ordered new arms to be made for all the citizens at the publick expence: and Archinus was appointed ſuperintendant of the work. He accordingly gave out to each of the citizens their new arms,

arms, and received of them their old ones in return; upon pretence of dedicating them to the gods according to the Argive decree. Inſtead of which, he armed with them a banditti of ſtrangers, and lodgers, the profligate, the poor, and deſperate; and by their aſſiſtance ſeized on the ſovereignty.

CHAP. IX.

IPHICRATES.

IPHICRATES, after having formed his lines, and ready to engage, obſerving ſeveral trembling, and pale, and in their countenances expreſſing every ſymptom of fear, ordered a herald to make proclamation; that whoever had left any thing behind him, might go back and fetch it, and immediately return and join the army. Of this proclamation the cowards all gladly took advantage, and left the field. As ſoon as they were gone, Iphicrates called out: "Now, my lads, is the time for action; as we have got rid of our incumbrances. The rewards of courage and reſolution will now be their's only, who deſerve them." From this harangue the army derived new confidence, and engaging in the abſence of thoſe, who had ſkulked away, obtained a glorious victory.

*2. AFTER routing the enemy, Iphicrates never ſuffered his lines to be broken in the ardour of purſuit: continually calling out to the light-armed troops to beware of ambuſcades. It was alſo a general rule with him, never to preſs his enemy too cloſe in their rout; if there were any narrow paſſes, or rivers behind them. For thus to hem them in, is often to force them through deſperation to rally and fight. Neither did he conceive it a point of good generalſhip, to purſue the enemy to their walls and battlements: for a victory gained, and raſhly fol-

* This is not ſo properly a ſtratagem, as a ſtring of military inſtructions.

lowed

lowed up within javelin's reach of the walls, has often been ſnatched away; and the conquerours in their turn with diſgrace and loſs, have been forced to relinquiſh their conqueſts.

3. IPHICRATES, having made himſelf maſter of a town in the night, while the people aſſembled in great bodies, and poured into the forum, ordered the gates to be thrown open: thereby giving the inhabitants an opportunity to eſcape, that he might with the greater ſecurity keep poſſeſſion of the place.

4. UPON an irruption which Iphicrates had made into Thrace, while his troops were flying before the enemy as if ſtruck with a panick fear; he ordered proclamation to be made; that whoever would inform of any man, that had thrown away his arms, he for his information ſhould have them. The proclamation had the intended effect, the men recovered their ſpirits, and reſolutely ſuſtained the enemy's ſhock.

5. IPHICRATES, finding it neceſſary to paſs the enemy in the night, directed his trumpets to an extremity of their lines, with orders to ſound the charge: on which alarm the enemy advanced to the poſt, where the trumpets ſounded; while Iphicrates marched his army unmoleſted along the oppoſite extremity, the paſs being left quite open.

6. AFTER a defeat Iphicrates had ſuſtained, with the remains of his army he halted in a rough piece of ground, that was covered with wood. And being cloſely purſued by the enemy, to ſecure a retreat, he found it neceſſary to paſs them. To effect this, he ordered his troops in the night with noiſe and tumult to put themſelves in motion in one quarter: where having drawn the enemy's attention, he directed his march without oppoſition by a different one.*

7. IPHICRATES, though his army was much more numerous than that of the enemy, and the augurs had pronounced ſucceſs, to the equal

* This ſtratagem with a ſmall variation is a repetition of the preceding one.

ſurpriſe of both armies ſtill declined an engagement. The augury of my own mind, ſays he, determines me againſt engaging: for where an army is very numerous, they can neither charge, nor ſing the Pæan,* together; and when I order them to cloſe, I hear more of the chattering of their teeth, than of the clang of their arms.

8. WHILE the two armies lay encamped againſt each other; Iphicrates, whoſe object was to avoid an engagement, gained a three days march of the enemy, before they knew that he had ſtruck his tents. And this he effected by directing fires to be ſupplied with dry wood, and green wood to be continually thrown on them; which occaſioned a conſtant ſmoak, and ſo darkened the air, that the armies could not perceive what was going forwards in each other's camp.

9. WHENEVER the augurs declared againſt engaging; without implicitly ſubmitting to their direction, Iphicrates uſed to change his ground, and vary his movements: and then order the ſacrifices to be repeated. And this he did, in order to gain time maturely to conſider a matter of ſo great importance, as the good or ill ſucceſs of a battle.

10. IPHICRATES, once commanding againſt the Lacedæmonians, had a great variety of applications; from one for the command of five hundred men, from another for the command of one hundred, and from another for a company: all which he at the time rejected. But, on a future day, haſtily drawing up his army, he gave private inſtructions to his generals to throw it into confuſion, and raiſe a panick among the troops; as if the enemy were advancing in force to attack them. In this general confuſion the timorous fled, and the brave advanced againſt the ſuppoſed foe. Iphicrates then ſmiled, and told them, the panick was of his own raiſing; to try the merit of their dif-

* The Pæan previous to the charge was a hymn to Mars. The Pæan after a victory was a hymn to Apollo.

ferent

ferent pretenſions. To thoſe, who had maintained their ground, he gave commands; and ordered thoſe, who had retreated, to follow their leaders.

11. HAVING fixed on his ground, Iphicrates before he encamped detached a body of troops, to ſecure a poſt at a conſiderable diſtance from the army. His officers, ſurpriſed at the movement, aſked the reaſon of his taking ſo diſtant a poſition. To prevent, replied Iphicrates, the after-reflection of, "Who would have conceived ſuch a movement neceſſary?" Implying, that in war every precaution ought to be taken; and as little as poſſible left to hazard.

12. IPHICRATES having been brought to an engagement in an open plain, where the enemy were much ſuperiour in numbers, drew up his army; firſt opening a trench on his rear: thereby ſhewing them, that by thus having cut off all hopes of retreat, they had nothing left but to conquer or die.

13. WHEN Iphicrates had to engage with new-raiſed troops, he did not, immediately on forming, begin the attack; but wearied them by various manœuvres, before he commenced the engagement. But if he commanded new-raiſed troops againſt an army of veterans, he immediately engaged; giving all poſſible efficacy to the firſt attack.

14. WHENEVER Iphicrates had forced a flying enemy into a narrow paſs; he always contrived to open a way for them, and give them time and opportunity to eſcape, without endeavouring to oblige them to force a way by victory: ſaying, there was no reaſon to compel an enemy to be brave.

15. IPHICRATES, on a proſecution againſt him for a capital offence, placed in court ſome youths, with ſwords in their hands: who ſhewed the hilts of them to the judges, and thereby ſo intimidated them; that juſtice ſhut her eyes, and Iphicrates was abſolved.

16. IPHI-

16. IPHICRATES in the palace of his father in law* went up to him, and ſhewed him his coat of mail. "You ſee, 'ſaid he,' I am always in exerciſe and on my guard†."

17. IPHICRATES, during truces always fortified his camp: obſerving, that it was not the part of a good general, to ſay, "I could not have thought it."

18. THE enemy having encamped in great force againſt Iphicrates, he found it neceſſary to attempt a retreat. And as they cloſely watched his motions, he cut down all the wood that was near him; and fixing it up in the camp, hung ſhields, helmets, and ſpears upon it: which the enemy obſerving ſuppoſed him ſtill in camp; while he had ſecretly evacuated it, and effected a ſafe retreat.

19. WHEN Iphicrates out-numbered the enemy, and wiſhed to conceal his ſtrength from them, in order to make them, from his ſuppoſed weakneſs, the more ready to engage; he uſed to make two ſoldiers ſleep on one bed, taking it in turns to lye down to reſt; and alternately to place their arms upon each other's. And on the contrary, if his force was ſmall, and he wiſhed to impreſs the enemy with an idea of his numbers being greater than they really were, he ordered every ſoldier to make two beds: then ſhifted his ground, and encamped in a different place. Thus the enemy, from the number of

* Cotys, King of Thrace; whoſe daughter Iphicrates had married: and whom he ſuſpected of entertaining ſecret deſigns againſt him; and, according to an intimation of Demoſthenes in his oration againſt Ariſtocrates, not without reaſon.

† The words are μελετω φυλαττεσθαι; which it is difficult literally to tranſlate. Μελετω has a reference to the rudiments of military ſcience: and young men, on their firſt entrance into the ſervice, in the initiatory ſtudies of their profeſſion were ſaid μελετᾶν, to exerciſe. And in thoſe ſtudies a fundamental rule was φυλαττεσθαι, to be on their guard. To this application of the words Iphicrates ſeems in the above paſſage to allude: jocoſely obſerving, and at the ſame time ſeriouſly intending the point of his obſervation to Cotys, "You ſee I do not forget the rudiments of my profeſſion; I am always in exerciſe, and on my guard."

beds they obſerved, confident in their own ſuppoſed ſuperiourity advanced raſhly to the charge, or diſpirited by the appearance of his, reluctantly commenced the engagement.

20. THE Thebans had formed a deſign to ſurpriſe Athens by night; of which Iphicrates being appriſed, ſummoned the people at a particular ſignal in the night to aſſemble in the forum. He then told them, he had a party at Thebes, who were ready to betray the city to them. "Let us, 'ſaid he,' therefore march quietly out; we may make ourſelves maſters of the city without ſtriking a blow." As ſoon as the Thebans by their emiſſaries at Athens were informed of this council, and the object of it, they thought no more of ſurpriſing Athens; directing their attention to the conſervation of their own city.

21. BEING very inferiour in force to the enemy, and his troops on that account diſpirited, Iphicrates at ſupper called to him the captains of companies* and leaders of bands†; and bade them raiſe from their reſpective corps whatever gold, ſilver, or trinkets, they could: on pretence that he had bribed a party in the enemy's camp, to betray the

* The ταξις, which I have tranſlated "Company," conſiſted of 128 men: the commander of which was denominated ταξιαρχος.

† The λοχος, or band, conſiſted of 16 men: and the leader of it was ſtiled λοχαγος.

The diſtinction of the terms αρχοι, and αγοι, may perhaps be in ſome meaſure explained by the ranks in our army, diſtinguiſhed by commiſſioned, and warrant officers: though it muſt be acknowledged, they do not exactly correſpond. Nor does the organization of our army exactly aſſimilate to that of the ancient Greeks. They had their leaders of 16, 10, and even 5 men. But then it is to be obſerved, that their actions were always decided hand to hand: in which thoſe leaders were of great uſe; ſetting the example, and obſerving that their reſpective corps did their duty. Whereas the battles of the moderns are generally determined by ordinance and muſquetry. But when it comes to the puſh of the bayonet; in which caſe the innate valour of the Britiſh troops generally bears the palm of victory, perhaps a leader of 10, or 12, might be an improvement in our military arrangements: and if thought ſo, might be eaſily conſtituted by the addition of three or four corporals to every company.

army

army to him; and that to make good his engagement, he wanted every aſſiſtance that could be ſpared him. And as ſoon as he had received the contributions of the army, he told them, he ſhould immediately proceed to action. The officers accordingly brought to him, what they had been able to raiſe: which he took, and made an offering from it to PROPITIOUS MERCURY; as if in purſuance of the agreement between him and the conſpirators: and after a ſhort interval drew up his army, and advanced to the attack. The troops recovered their ſpirits, and puſhed boldly on; in confidence that the enemy's army would be betrayed to them.

22. IPHICRATES uſed to reſemble an army marſhalled for action to the human body. The phalanx he called the breaſt, the light-armed troops the hands, the cavalry the feet, and the general the head. If any of the inferiour parts were wanting, the army he ſaid was defective: but if it wanted a general, it wanted every thing.

23. IPHICRATES propagated a report at Mitylenæ, that he intended ſhortly to provide a number of ſhields, to be ſent to the Chian ſlaves. The rumour gaining credit among the Chians; fearful of a rebellion among the ſlaves, they immediately ſent him preſents, and entered into an alliance with Athens.

24. WHEN preparations were making by the Athenians for the ſiege of Sicyon, the Lacedæmonian general, who was ordered to relieve it, directed the ambaſſadors, which came to ſolicit aſſiſtance, to plant an ambuſcade, and endeavour to ſurpriſe the enemy. This they accordingly did. And Iphicrates, who took the direct way to the city, had paſſed it. But ſome youths from the walls audaciouſly calling out to him, on his preſenting himſelf before the place, "Now however you will meet your puniſhment;" it occurred to him, there muſt be ſomething particular, on which they depended. He therefore immediately marched back, but took a different rout; and with a ſelect

body of his beſt troops, reſolved to explore the country: when in a cloſe covert way he diſcovered the ambuſcade, which he cut to pieces. On this occaſion he acknowledged his error, in not reconnoitring the ground: though he had immediately availed himſelf of his ſuſpicions, and thereby defeated the purpoſe of the enemy's manœuvre.

25. When preparing for an engagement with the barbarians, to animate his men, Iphicrates called out; "Thoſe barbarians ſeem not to know the terror, the arms of Iphicrates carry with them: but, by your aſſiſtance, my lads, I will now teach them to know it, and to tell the tale to others." When the armies were drawn up, ſome one obſerved, the enemy cut a formidable appearance. "Therefore, 'replied Iphicrates,' we muſt be ſo much the more formidable."

26. Iphicrates on a particular occaſion conjured his men by all the glorious exploits they had performed under his command, in this one requeſt to indulge him; to advance briſkly, and begin the attack: confident that if he did not inſtantly bear down upon the enemy, they would do it upon him; and that whichever army attacked, the other would find it difficult to ſuſtain the charge.

27. Iphicrates told his men, he would inſure them the victory; if mutually animating each other, upon a certain ſignal he ſhould give, they would advance but a ſingle pace. At the criſis, when victory hung in equal ſuſpenſe, he gave the ſignal: the army returned it with acclamations; advanced a pace, and defeated the enemy.

28. When Iphicrates commanded at Corinth againſt the Thebans, and was much preſſed by his troops to bring the enemy to an action; obſerving, that they out-numbered him, and were alſo fluſhed with their late victory at Leuctræ, he refuſed to hazard an engagement. "But, 'ſaid he,' I have formed you to that height of military glory, which has taught you to deſpiſe the Thebans: now let ſome abler officer take the command, and lead you to the charge." By this mild reprimand he won

won the Athenians from their purpoſe; and repreſſed an ill-timed ardour, that would probably have terminated in a defeat.

29. IPHICRATES at the inſtance of Ariſtophon and Chares was proſecuted for treaſon againſt the ſtate, in not bringing the enemy to an action at Embata; when he had it in his power to have deſtroyed their fleet. Finding the charge ſtrongly ſupported againſt him, inſtead of proceeding farther in his defence, he ſtopped ſhort and ſhewed the judges his ſword: who, in fear leſt the court might be ſurrounded by his confederates in arms, acquitted him. Some one intimating, after the cauſe was over, that he had intimidated the judges by menacing violence; "I ſhould be an idiot indeed, 'replied Iphicrates;' if I could fight for the Athenians, and could not do the ſame for myſelf."

30. AT a time when the Athenians for ſome particular purpoſe were in great want of money; Iphicrates adviſed them, to pull down the publick buildings, that fronted the ſtreets, and ſell them. But as the demolition of thoſe buildings would have been a great detriment to the houſes that were built up againſt them; the owners of them, as Iphicrates foreſaw, paid the ſums that were wanted, to have the buildings preſerved.

31. THE booty that was taken after an action Iphicrates diſtributed among the troops, according to each individual's particular deſervings. But the contributions raiſed on cities, where no engagements had taken place, he divided not to each man ſingly, but to each ſeparate corps, by companies, and bands. And, while the troops were reſpectively arming themſelves, his practice was, after ſilence had been proclaimed, to promiſe to diſtinguiſh, in the diſtribution of the booty, every man in the different corps of cavalry, heavy, or light armed troops, that ſhould particularly ſignaliſe himſelf. And at all feſtivals, and publick meetings, the

men,

men, who had diſplayed moſt courage, he always honoured with the firſt ſeats.* By theſe devices he promoted courage and emulation.

32. IPHICRATES uſed to exerciſe his troops in all thoſe various manœuvres, that might be neceſſary in action; ſham ſallies, ſham ambuſcades, proditions, revolts, ſurpriſes, and panics: ſo that when any of them were really practiſed by the enemy, or required from his own troops, they were in either caſe experienced and ready.

33. THE enemy having formed, about five furlongs diſtant from the Athenian army, on an elevated poſt near the ſacred mount, with the ſea on their rear, and only one paſs in front, ſo narrow as not to admit two men a-breaſt; and the approach towards the ſea ſteep and craggy: Iphicrates with a body of reſolute, ſtrong men, oiling, and properly equipping, themſelves, took the advantage of a ſtill night; ſkirted the mountain, and ſwimming over particular places where the ſea was deepeſt, landed on the rear of the enemy, cut the centinels to pieces, and ſecured the march of his army through the defile. Then, while it was yet night, attacking the enemy unprepared to receive him, he with little loſs obtained a compleat victory; thoſe, who eſcaped the ſword, being made priſoners.

34. IN a winter campaign, when the Athenian army were ill-cloathed and fed, Iphicrates ſaw the preſent moment the proper inſtant for engaging; but obſerved his troops, from the hardſhips they experienced, ill-affected to the ſervice. Habited therefore in a mean dreſs, and thinner cloathed than the reſt, he went round the camp, exhorting the troops

* Great ſtreſs was formerly laid on the honours of the table. See Homer's Iliad, l. 12. v. 310. a poem, which abounds in military documents.

Γλαυκε, τι δη νωι τετιμημεθα μαλιστα
Εδρη τε, κρεασιν τε, ιδε πλειοι δεπαεσσιν, &c.
Glaucus, why claim we at the feſtive treat
The table's honours, and the higheſt ſeat?—&c.

imme-

immediately to draw out, and advance to the attack: who, ſeeing their general thus meanly dreſſed, and without ſhoes, ſacrificed eaſe and convenience to the publick good, and readily followed him to the charge.

35. IPHICRATES, when his military cheſt was low, uſed to march his troops to ſea coaſts and unfrequented places; where their expences would be ſmall. But when his finances were in good plight, he quartered them in cities and rich countries; where having quickly ſquandered away their money, their poverty might excite them to ſome great enterpriſe. But he never ſuffered them to be idle. When they were not engaged in actual ſervice, he always appointed them to ſome employment: ordering them either to ſcoop the earth, to ſink trenches, to cut down wood, to ſhift their camp, or to repair their baggage; conſidering idleneſs, as the parent of plots and mutinies.

36. IPHICRATES, after ravaging Samos, ſailed to Delos: whither the Samian ambaſſadors repaired, to purchaſe the property he had taken from them: all which he promiſed ſhould be reſtored to them. And ſecretly fitting out a tender, which he pretended was juſt arrived from Athens, and had brought him letters of recall, he took a friendly leave of the Samians; and ordered the captains of his fleet to weigh anchor, and get under ſail. He then ſteered to an uninhabited iſland, and anchored there a day and night. The Samians, as ſoon as they heard that Iphicrates had courteouſly received their ambaſſadors, left Delos, and was recalled home, abandoned themſelves to a falſe ſecurity both in the city, and in the country. But while enjoying themſelves in parties, and ſtrolling abroad, he again landed at Samos; and carried off a greater booty, than he had done before. The ſame ſtratagem Phormio practiſed againſt the Chalcidenſians.

37. WHEN Iphicrates, who acted as arbitrator between the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, then at war with each other, found that the Argive and Arcadian allies of the Thebans prevented a reconciliation between

between them; he ordered a body of troops to ravage Argolis. The Argives complaining of ſuch an incurſion, he ſaid the ravages were committed by their own revolters; againſt whom he pretended to march, in order to puniſh them: and, as if ſucceſsful in his expedition, reſtored to the Argives the property of which they had been plundered. Won by ſuch an act of generous retribution, they looked on Iphicrates as their benefactor and friend; and perſuaded the Thebans to agree to the propoſed conditions of peace.

38. When Iphicrates, in the ſervice of Perſia, had with Pharnabazus carried the war into Ægypt; there being in that part of the world no havens, he directed the captains of the veſſels every one to take with him forty ſacks. And when they brought to land, he ordered all the ſacks to be filled with ſand, and from the ſides of the ſhip to be ſuſpended in the water. Under the ſtay of this counterbalance they rode ſafe: which ſerved them in place of an harbour.

39. At Epidaurum Iphicrates drew up his army near the ſea; but not being in a condition to engage, he advanced to a thick, ſhady wood: where he called aloud for the ambuſh to ſhew themſelves. The enemy, fearing a numerous ambuſcade, wheeled about and retreated to their ſhips.

40. Iphicrates, when in Theſſaly, and Jaſon the tyrant, having encamped againſt each other near a river's ſide, agreed to terminate the conteſt by a treaty. They accordingly met under the bridge without arms, to ſettle the terms of it; having been previouſly ſearched by each other's officers. After they had formally bound themſelves by oath to adhere to the conditions that ſhould be ſettled, Iphicrates mounted the bridge; and Jaſon begun a ſacrifice to the river, with a ſheep he had taken from a neighbouring flock. Iphicrates then leaping down, ſeized a knife, with which though he did not murder Jaſon; he awed him into ſuch terms in making the treaty, as he thought fit to preſcribe.

41. Iphi-

41. IPHICRATES in the Thracian war, when the enemy were encamped near him, directed a wood, which lay between the two camps, to be ſet on fire in the night; and leaving his baggage, and a great ſtore of cattle, under cover of the night, rendered by the ſmoak more dark than it really was, retreated to a place thick and ſhady, and covered with underwood. As ſoon as day appeared, the Thracians advanced againſt the camp, which they found abandoned, and immediately fell to plundering the baggage, and the live ſtores. Thus engaged and ſeparated, Iphicrates advancing in good order, fell ſuddenly upon them; defeated them, and recovered his baggage.

42. IN his attack on a particular place by night, Iphicrates ordered the trumpets, diſperſed in various parts, to ſound the charge. The enemy intimidated at the ſound of the different trumpets endeavoured to eſcape, ſome one way, and ſome another; while he, having cut off the few that oppoſed him, eaſily made himſelf maſter of the place.

43. WHILE Iphicrates was at Corinth, the Lacedæmonians advanced againſt the city. He did not however venture immediately to hazard a battle: but learning that there were ſtrong poſts about the city, he privately poſſeſſed himſelf of them; and then ordered thoſe who were within the walls to join him. The whole body of the people advancing in one firm compact band, ſo intimidated the Lacedæmonians with their numbers, and the advantageous poſition of their allies, that they raiſed the ſiege, and retreated, without ſtriking a blow.

44. IPHICRATES, when at war with the Abydenians he lay at Cherroneſus, having poſted himſelf on an advantageous ſpot, pretended to be afraid of Axibidius the Lacedæmonian general, and threw up a wall round his camp. The Abydenians ſeeing him raiſing a wall, and from thence preſuming on his ſuppoſed weakneſs, ventured out of the city; and made excurſions into the country, as their occaſions required.

Iphicrates obſerving them thus thrown off from their guard, detached a part of his army by night into the territories of the Abydenians, ravaged their country, made many priſoners, and carried off booty to a conſiderable amount.

45. When Iphicrates lay at Corinth, having learned, that thoſe who ſupported the oppoſite faction had reſolved in the night to admit into the city mercenaries from Lacedæmon, he muſtered his troops, left a part of them in the city as a garriſon, marched the reſt out, and drew them up without the gates. Then haſtening to the gate, which the Lacedæmonian faction had opened for the admiſſion of the mercenaries, he threw himſelf in with them upon their rear: and a confuſed engagement ſucceeding, unexpected on the part of the mercenaries, many of them fell in the night; and in the morning many more were cut to pieces, who had taken refuge in the temples.

46. Iphicrates, in an expedition into Thrace, being encamped with eight thouſand men, and hearing that the Thracians intended to attack his camp in the night, evacuated it in the evening; and poſted himſelf in a valley about three furlongs diſtant, where he lay unobſerved by the enemy. They accordingly attacked his camp, which they found evacuated, and plundered it: ridiculing the Greeks, as an enemy who had invaded them, only to run away again. Iphicrates then advancing from his retreat, ſuddenly attacked them with great ſlaughter, and took a conſiderable number priſoners.

47. Iphicrates having a two day's march to make through a ſandy country, deſtitute of water, ordered the army after ſupper to fill the water caſks: and as ſoon as the ſun was down, he begun his march, which he continued all night. The next morning he encamped, and ordered the troops to refreſh themſelves. And having reſted all day, and in the evening taken their ſuppers; when the night came on, they packed up their baggage, and renewed their march. Thus inſtead

of

of a two day's march, he had only one day, and that a day of reſt, to encounter the heat of the climate, and the ſcarcity of water.

48. IPHICRATES, having acquired at Epidaurum great ſpoils, in his retreat to his ſhips was purſued by the Lacedæmonian governor of the country; who had poſted himſelf on an eminence, to intercept him. Before his baggage Iphicrates drew up his heavy-armed troops, intermixing here and there with them ſome of his light-armed and other leſs effective* forces, to increaſe their numbers; concealing himſelf at a ſmall diſtance with the reſt of his army. Thoſe advancing againſt the Lacedæmonian, he quitted his heights to engage them; of which Iphicrates, with the other part of his troops, having wheeled about, took poſſeſſion, and falling upon his rear entirely defeated him.

49. IPHICRATES having about Phlyuntes ſome narrow defiles to paſs, while the enemy hung upon his rear, ordered his troops to clear the paſs with all expedition: while he, with a body of his beſt troops falling back into the rear to cover them, attacked the enemy, diſordered and confuſed in the eagerneſs of their purſuit, and made great havock amongſt them.

50. IPHICRATES, having made an irruption into Thrace, encamped on an open plain, almoſt ſurrounded by a ridge of mountains, and acceſſible only in one paſs by a bridge; that the Thracians croſſed in the night, with intention to attack his camp: which, having lighted in it a number of fires, he evacuated, and ſkirting the mountains concealed himſelf in a piece of ſhrubby ground near the bridge; while the Thracians advanced againſt his camp, not doubting by the

* On this paſſage I will obſerve in general, that the ὁπλῖται, or heavy-armed troops, were the firſt and moſt conſiderable body in the Grecian infantry: engaging with broad ſhields and long ſpears. The ψιλοὶ, or light-armed men, fought chiefly with arrows, darts, ſlings, &c. Thoſe who are here ſtiled κωφοὶ, were probably the baggage keepers, &c. ordered into the ranks only to ſwell the ſhew of numbers.

fires but he was ſtill there, Iphicrates in the mean time quitted his ſtation, paſſed the bridge, and effected a ſafe retreat.

51. IPHICRATES, when in command of a numerous army, conſiſting both of naval, and land forces, kept always in hand a quarter of their pay, as a ſecurity againſt their deſertion. By this means he preſerved his army compleat, and his troops rich; having always a fourth part of their pay in arrears.

52. IPHICRATES, having encamped oppoſite to the Lacedæmonian allies, in the night made his army change their dreſs: the ſoldiers dreſſed themſelves in the habit of the ſervants, and the ſervants in that of the ſoldiers. They in the military dreſs walked about at pleaſure with the air of freemen; leaving the care of their arms to the ſervants: they in the ſervile dreſs, as their ſervice required, were employed about the arms. The enemy, ſeeing this, did the ſame: their ſoldiers leiſurely amuſed themſelves without the limits of the camp; while their ſervants were engaged in their ordinary employment within. At a ſignal given, the troops of Iphicrates, ſeiſing their arms, inſtantly advanced againſt the enemy's camp; from whence the ſervants precipitately fled, and the ſoldiers thus ſurpriſed unarmed, were either ſlain, or taken priſoners.

53. IPHICRATES, on another occaſion, being encamped directly oppoſite to the enemy, and obſerving that they dined regularly at a certain hour, made his men dine early in the morning; and immediately after attacked the enemy: whom, without ever cloſing, they with their darts engaged all day at a diſtance. And in the evening after both ſides had retreated, and the enemy were ſate down to their repaſt, his own ſoldiers having dined heartily early in the day, he attacked the enemy while at their ſupper, and made no ſmall havock amongſt them.

54. THE narrowneſs of the roads at Phlyuntes obliging Iphicrates to march with a narrow front, and his lines extended to the rear, which was much galled by the enemy, he ordered them to march quicker; and, with

with a ſelect body of troops, falling back into the rear, he vigorouſly attacked the enemy, fatigued with the purſuit, and in no order; cut many of them to pieces, and made the reſt priſoners.

55. IPHICRATES, when lying at Corcyra he received intelligence of Crinippus having ſailed from Sicily with eleven ſtore ſhips, in a ſmall iſland near which his courſe lay ordered a beacon to be lighted: and weighing anchor in the night, he fell in with him, and took every ſhip but one.

56. IPHICRATES, while in Thrace, having had intelligence of a conſpiracy being formed by two of his generals, ſelected a party of his beſt and moſt confidential troops: and ordered them as ſoon as he had charged the ſuſpected generals with the conſpiracy, immediately to ſeiſe their arms, and thoſe of the corps they commanded: which was accordingly done. The conſpiracy afterwards being clearly proved, Iphicrates ordered the generals to execution; ſtripped the ſoldiers, and turned them naked out of the camp.

57. Two thouſand mercenaries having revolted to the Lacedæmonians, Iphicrates diſpatched after them private letters to the generals of the revolters; reminding them of the time appointed, and aſſuring them they might then depend on aſſiſtance from Athens: well knowing, that thoſe letters would be intercepted by the * GUARDS OF THE ROADS. This was accordingly the caſe; and the Lacedæmonians, upon the intercepted letters being carried to them, diſpatched a body of troops to apprehend the revolters: who, in this untoward ſituation, real traitours to the Athenians, and ſuſpected of treachery to the Lacedæmonians, had nothing left but to endeavour to make their eſcape from both.

58. WHEN Iphicrates commanded at Chios, to convict a party of

* The Φυλακες των οδων were centinels ſtationed on the publick roads, to make enquiries of all paſſengers reſpecting their buſineſs, &c. and to tranſmit information to the neighbouring towns of any particular occurrences, that might affect either private perſons, or the ſtate.

the

the Chians whom Iphicrates ſuſpected of favouring the intereſts of Lacedæmon; he ordered ſome captains of veſſels ſecretly to weigh anchor in the night, and the next morning to return into harbour, habited in the Lacedæmonian dreſs. Thoſe, who were in the Lacedæmonian intereſt, as ſoon as they ſaw them, run with great joy to welcome them to the harbour: when Iphicrates, advancing with a body of troops from the city, ſurrounded, and took them, and ſent them to Athens to be puniſhed.

59. IPHICRATES, once particularly preſſed for money, while the ſoldiers mutinied, and inſiſted on a general meeting being called, habited ſome men, who were acquainted with the Perſian language, in a Perſian dreſs, and ordered them when the aſſembly was moſt crowded to be introduced; and to tell them in the barbarian manner, that a party were on their march and very near, who were charged with money for payment of their arrears: and we, added they, were diſpatched before, to appriſe you of it. On this intelligence, the ſoldiers immediately diſſolved the aſſembly.

60. IPHICRATES, having ravaged Odryſius, and brought off much booty, was purſued by the Odryſians in great force. And being weak in his cavalry, and the enemy in theirs particularly ſtrong, he ordered his own to attack with flaming torches in their hands: which ſo affrighted the horſes of the enemy, unaccuſtomed to the ſight of fire; that they would not ſtand the charge, but turned about and fled.

61. IPHICRATES once advanced againſt a city, a river flowing through the midſt of it, which he was obliged to paſs above the city, before he could commence the attack. He therefore croſſed the river in the night; that the water, rendered muddy by the paſſage of ſo great a body of men, might not diſcover his approach to the enemy. The next morning he appeared before their gates, and begun the attack; while they were ignorant of his having croſſed the river.

62. IPHI-

62. IPHICRATES having taken many of the Odryſians priſoners, when galled by the enemy's ſlings and arrows, ſtripped his priſoners naked, and with their hands tied behind them placed them in the front of his army. The Odryſians, ſeeing their friends thus poſted in the place of danger, no longer continued the diſtant action with arrows and ſlings.

63. WHEN ordered againſt the Phœnicians with a fleet of a hundred ſail, Iphicrates, as ſoon as he approached the Phœnician coaſt, which was flat and muddy, found the enemy drawn up to receive him. Obſerving their poſition, he ordered the maſters of the ſhips, to form a line and wear to the ſhore, and at a ſignal given to drop their anchors; and the ſoldiers, every man immediately to take up his arms, and each by his reſpective oar to jump into the ſea. As ſoon as Iphicrates ſuppoſed the ſea ſhallow enough for his purpoſe, he gave the ſignal; the veſſels inſtantly dropped anchor, the ſoldiers quitted them in perfect order, and under cover of their ſhields advanced to the ſhore. The enemy, intimidated by the order of their march, and their reſolution, abandoned themſelves to flight: when the Grecians purſued them, and in the rout cut many of them to pieces. Many alſo they made priſoners, and poſſeſſed themſelves of conſiderable ſpoils; which were ſecured on board their ſhips, while they encamped themſelves on the ſhore.

CHAP. X.

TIMOTHEUS.

AT a time, when there was a great ſcarcity of money in the Athenian camp, Timotheus perſuaded the ſuttlers to take his drafts for currency: aſſuring them, thoſe drafts ſhould all be redeemed with ſpecie. The ſuttlers truſted to the general's honour, and ſupplied the army with pro-

proviſions upon the credit of his own notes. The money was afterwards punctually paid, and Timotheus by this ſtratagem not only ſupplied the wants of his army, but eſtabliſhed his credit among the ſuttlers.

2. JUST as the fleet under Timotheus was ready to ſail, one of the men was ſeized with a fit of ſneezing*. The maſter of the veſſel bade him ſuppreſs it: and the ſailours refuſed to embark. Timotheus ſmiled, and with great compoſure obſerved, "What a wonderful omen is this; that among ſuch a number of men, one of them ſhould happen to ſneeze." The ſailours ſaw the propriety of their general's obſervation, laughed at their own ſuperſtition, and embarked.

3. TIMOTHEUS having given orders for the army immediately to charge, and ſeveral of the men being yet behind; one of his lieutenants aſked, if they had not better halt, till the reſt came up. "By no means, 'replied Timotheus:' all that will fight bravely are ready; and thoſe, who will not do that, are not worth waiting for."

4. IN a naval engagement between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians at Leucas, Timotheus commanded the Athenians, and Nicomachus the Lacedæmonians. The battle being fought on the feſtival Skira†, Timotheus in the morning ornamented his ſhips with myrtle, then gave the ſignal for attack, and obtained the victory: the ſoldiers exerting themſelves with uncommon courage, in confidence that they fought under the immediate protection of the goddeſs.

5. WHEN Timotheus inveſted a city, he appointed to his troops a particular diſtrict, in which he gave them liberty to live at free quarters. But in the reſt of the country he made them pay for whatever they had. Nor did he ſuffer them to deſtroy either houſe, or cottage, or even to cut down a growing tree; but merely to ſupply themſelves with the

* Sneezing was always conſidered by ſeamen, as an unlucky omen.

† A feſtival in honour of Minerva, the tutelary Deity of the Athenians.

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product of the country. And by this conduct he knew, if he was ſucceſsful, he ſhould be able to raiſe the greater contribution from the people; and if the war was protracted, he ſhould want for his army neither proviſions, nor other accommodation. And what was ſtill of greater conſequence, he by this means ſecured the eſteem of his enemies.

6. TIMOTHEUS advancing to a naval engagement with the Lacedæmonians took on board him the ſtores* of twenty triremes; which he lodged in the holds of the reſt of the fleet, that lay quietly on their oars, while the light veſſels advanced againſt the enemy, whom they harraſſed with various movements and manœuvres. As ſoon as he ſaw them appear fatigued, and feebly handle their oars, he with the reſt of the fleet advanced to action; and freſh, and in full ſtrength, obtained an eaſy victory over an enemy weak and exhauſted by tedious and laborious manœuvres.

7. IN an incurſion into Olynthia, to avoid being harraſſed by the Olynthian horſe, Timotheus marched in the form of the Plinth†; poſting his baggage and cavalry in the centre, the carriages faſtened in continued lines to each other; and round them he formed his heavy-armed troops. And in this order he penetrated into Olynthia; the Olynthian cavalry being able to make no impreſſion on him.

8. TIMOTHEUS, having encamped at Amphipolis, received intelligence in the evening that the enemy were advancing in force againſt him, and would reach him the next day. That he might not diſcourage his troops, he concealed from them the ſtrength of the enemy; and

* Πληρωματα is a term of very large extent, comprehending ſometimes thoſe who rowed, as well as all other perſons in the ſhip, and was ſometimes applied to any thing contained in it. In the inſtance before us, it can only ſignify thoſe contents, which would be of no uſe in an action.

† See above, book 2. chap. 2. ſtrat. 9.

as if advancing againſt an undiſciplined army, he ordered the baggage and attendants on the camp to march firſt, directing their rout through a rugged and unfrequented road, where it was probable the enemy might have neglected to ſtation a guard. Himſelf marched at the head of the phalanx; and the light infantry he poſted in the rear. In this order he reached the river Strymon, where he embarked his army; and burned all the ſhips on the river, that were more than he could fill. And all theſe were the operations of a ſingle night: by which he effected a ſafe retreat.

9. TIMOTHEUS, having undertaken the ſiege of Samos, for that enterpriſe engaged ſeven thouſand mercenaries. But not being able regularly to make good to them their pay, and obſerving the iſland to be rich and well cultivated, he ſuffered them on a part of it, for that purpoſe aſſigned, to live at free quarters; and the product of the reſt he ſold: protecting thoſe who were employed in gathering it. And having from thence raiſed conſiderable ſums, he paid his troops part of their arrears; and thus ſecuring their perſeverance, he at laſt took the city by ſtorm.

10. WHEN Timotheus lay before Samos, and the continued influx of ſtrangers occaſioned ſuch conſumption of proviſions, as created a ſcarcity, he ordered no flour to be ſold, nor a pint of oil, or wine, and of corn not leſs than a buſhel, nor of any liquors leſs than a barrel: and prohibited all corn-mills, except on the hills. The conſequence of which regulations was, that when the ſtrangers found they could not purchaſe at Samos what was wanted for preſent uſe; they brought their proviſion with them: and the whole product of the iſland became thus appropriated to the demands of the army.

11. TIMOTHEUS, with a fleet of forty ſhips, having occaſion to diſpatch five, with proviſions for ſeveral days, on a ſecret expedition, was afraid of openly applying ſo large a ſhare of proviſions, as was re-

required, to that expedition; leſt the troops, whom he had not been able regularly to pay, ſhould murmur at the apprehenſion of being reduced to ſhort allowance. He therefore ordered the whole fleet to get under ſail, each ſhip taking on board three days proviſion; and to anchor at a certain iſland. There he directed every captain of a ſhip to land two days proviſion: which he ſecretly put on board the five ſhips deſtined for the diſtant expedition; and with the remaining part of his fleet returned to his former ſtation.

12. Previous to an engagement, to which Timotheus was advancing, with the Spartan general Nicolochus, he ordered the compliments of ſeveral ſhips to be landed, and to reſt on the ſhore till wanted: and with twenty of his ſwifteſt ſailing veſſels bore down upon the enemy, directing the captains not to advance within dart's caſt of them; but to paſs them, to advance, and retreat, and by every manœuvre harraſs and fatigue them. In this kind of flying fight as ſoon as Timotheus obſerved the enemy by heat and fatigue almoſt exhauſted; he gave ſignals for a retreat. And taking on board the men, that had been left during the diſtant engagement to reſt themſelves on the ſhore, he renewed the action with the wearied foe, took many of their ſhips, and diſabled others.

13. Timotheus, when lying before the Lacedæmonian fleet, being afraid leſt ten of the enemy's ſhips, that the admiral had previous to the engagement diſpatched to intercept his ſtore-ſhips, ſhould fall in with them, reſolved to retreat and cover them. And at the ſame time apprehenſive leſt the enemy ſhould attack him in his retreat, and, while the ſmall veſſels were endeavouring to form, come up with, and in that imperfect ſtate bring him to an engagement, he ordered the captains of the triremes not to form again, but to make the firſt land they could: while he, having cleared the decks, and put the priſoners in the holds, with the reſt of his fleet in the ſhape of a creſcent, gently wore away before the enemy; his ſterns foremoſt, and beaks directed towards them.

14. In a war with the Chalcidians, in which Timotheus commanded, aſſiſted by Perdiccas; he mixed the Macedonian money with the Cyprian braſs, and from thence ſtruck a new coin, of the value of five drachms: one fourth of which conſiſted of ſilver, and the reſt was an alloy of braſs. By this means having enriched his military cheſt, he perſuaded the ſuttlers and inhabitants of the country to take it as currency: which he received in payment of them again, and thus it paſſed between the army and their ſuppliers in the place of more valuable coin.

15. The Toronæans when beſieged by Timotheus, threw up moles of a prodigious height againſt him, conſiſting of baſkets of ſand: which he contrived means, by long machines pointed with ſharp ſteel, and fixed to the tops of his maſts, to cut, and let out the ſand. The addreſs of Timotheus on this occaſion induced the Toronæans to comply with the conditions he impoſed on them.

16. In a naval engagement with the Lacedæmonians, in which Timotheus commanded, aſſiſted by the Corcyræans and other allies, he poſted his prime ſailours in the firſt line; directing the reſt of the fleet to lie upon their oars, and keep themſelves quiet. As ſoon as he ſaw the enemy's ſtrength weakened, and their efforts ſlackening from the impetuoſity of the firſt attack; he gave the ſignal for the reſt of the fleet to advance: which being quite freſh eaſily compleated the victory over an enemy already exhauſted with the fatigues of the day*.

17. After Timotheus had defeated the Lacedæmonian fleet at Leucas, and deſtroyed ſeveral of their ſhips; being afraid of ten of them, which ſtill remained undamaged and diſpoſed for action, he drew up his fleet in the form of a creſcent; poſting his ſmall ſhips within the circle, which projected to the enemy: and in this diſpoſition

* This ſeems to have been a favourite ſtratagem with this commander: which we find in three different inſtances he employed with ſucceſs.

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he retreated, with his ſterns foremoſt, and the beaks advanced toward the enemy; who did not venture to attack him, but ſuffered him, in this order to make good his retreat*.

CHAP. XI.

CHABRIAS.

TO divert his men from an unneceſſary carnage, Chabrias bade them remember, that the victims of their ſwords, though enemies, were men; fleſh and blood, and of the ſame nature with themſelves.

2. CHABRIAS obtained a naval victory at Naxos, on the ſixteenth day of the month Boedromion; which he conſidered auſpicious, as being one of the days on which the Eleuſinian myſteries are celebrated. Themiſtocles alſo on one of thoſe days defeated the Perſians at Salamis; but the day, on which the batle of Salamis was fought, was that particularly dedicated to Bacchus †: ſo that Themiſtocles might be ſuppoſed to have the immediate protection of the God; but Chabrias on his ſide only the auſpices of the myſteries.

3. A Lacedæmonian fleet of obſervation, conſiſting of twelve ſail, having eſcaped Chabrias, and made the land. To decoy them out to ſea again, he detached twelve ſhips, faſtened two by two together, with their ſails alſo joined. The enemy, ſuppoſing them to be only ſix ſhips, weighed anchor, and advanced againſt them. As ſoon as Chabrias thought them too far from ſhore, to eſcape him; he ſeparated the ſails, ſet his ſhips at liberty; and bore down upon the enemy: half of whom he captured, with their compliments of men on board.

* This ſtratagem too, with ſome variation, we find twice employed by Timotheus againſt the Lacedæmonians. And it is obſervable, that the creſcent is a form, which we ſee at this day frequently adopted.

† That was the ſixth day of the myſteries.

4. CHA-

4. CHABRIAS, being obliged to retreat before a ſuperiour force, and marching through a narrow defile, poſted his beſt troops in the rear, and himſelf led the van. In this order purſuing his march, while none who were poſted in the rear dared to deſert his ranks, and contrary to orders paſs the general, he with little loſs effected his retreat.

5. THE treaſury of Thamus king of Ægypt being much exhauſted, and he in want of money, Chabrias adviſed him to command the wealthier part of his ſubjects to contribute to his preſent occaſions whatever gold and ſilver they could: engaging in proportion to their contributions to remit their reſpective tributes. By this method he raiſed a great ſum, and without injury to any one: and afterwards with ſtrict punctuality diſcharged his engagements.

6. CHABRIAS having made an irruption into Lacedæmonia, and being obliged to paſs a river, ſecured the booty, of which he had taken a conſiderable quantity, by ſending it over the river, and lodging it in the country of an Athenian ally: and halting with the reſt of his army, which he ordered to refreſh themſelves, he waited a ſuppoſed event, which according to his expectation took place. For the Lacedæmonians, having been appriſed of his rout, marched out to intercept him at the river, and recover their ſpoil: and, after a long and laborious march of two hundred furlongs, came up with him; but fatigued, in no order, nor in any reſpect prepared for action. Chabrias on the contrary, his troops reſted, and well refreſhed, in good order attacked them, and gained an eaſy victory.

7. WHEN Chabrias commanded in Ægypt, as ally to the king, againſt the Perſians; who had invaded his country with a numerous army, and a powerful fleet: finding that the Ægyptians had great ſtore of ſhips, but wanted mariners to work them, he ſelected from the ſtouteſt of the Ægyptian youths a compliment ſufficient to man

two

two hundred ſhips. And having taken the oars out of the ſhips, he ſeated the Ægyptians in order on benches, which he directed to be raiſed on the ſhore: then gave them the oars, and intermixed with them ſome mariners who underſtood the Ægyptian, as well as Grecian, language. Theſe inſtructed them to handle their oars: and in a ſhort time the king poſſeſſed a fleet of two hundred ſail, compleatly manned*.

8. CHABRIAS, whenever his army conſiſted of new levied troops, previous to an action uſed to order proclamation to be made, that whoever were indiſpoſed, ſhould quit their ranks. The cowards took advantage of this order, pretended illneſs, and laid down their arms. Thoſe therefore he never led to action, but employed them in ſecuring poſts; where their numbers at leaſt might render them formidable to the enemy. And as ſoon as he conveniently could, he ſhortened their pay.

9. ADVANCING againſt a city, which was at war with Athens, Chabrias landed a body of heavy-armed troops by night; and by break of day entered the harbour, and made a feint to diſembark his troops at ſome diſtance from the city. The citizens ſallied out, to diſpute his landing: when the ambuſcade of heavy-armed troops fell upon their rear, ſlew ſome, and re-imbarked with a conſiderable number of priſoners.

10. TEN of the moſt ſtout and active of his heavy-armed troops Chabrias landed from each of his ſhips by night in the enemy's country, with orders to ravage it. The citizens, to protect their property, ſallied out of the city, and advanced againſt the ravagers. As ſoon as this was obſerved, Chabrias advanced with his fleet directly againſt the city: whoſe approach of courſe drew back to the protection of it the attention of the troops, that were advancing againſt the invaders;

* This Stratagem of teaching the uſe of the oar by land is mentioned by Polybius as having been practiſed by the Romans. See L. 1.

while

while he with a detached ſquadron, brought to ſhore above the city, and took on board again the troops that had been ordered to ravage the country, together with the booty they had taken.

11. When Chabrias in a naval action engaged Pollis at Naxos, he commanded his captains, if they found themſelves hard preſſed, privately to ſtrike off the ornamental diſtinctions and names from their reſpective ſhips; and thoſe on the enemy's ſhips remaining would be a ſufficient mark to them, where to attack. Accordingly Pollis's captains, not being able to diſtinguiſh, for wantof their figure-heads, the enemy's ſhips, frequently paſſed the Athenians without attacking them: doubting whether they were friends or foes. While the Athenians knew the enemy, from their marks of diſtinction; and their own ſhips as perfectly, from having none; and this device ſecured to the Athenians the victory.

12. Chabrias, after landing three hundred men by night in Ægina, continued his voyage. But the citizens, having diſcovered the invaders, marched out againſt them, and attacked them with great ſuperiority of force. This Chabrias obſerving, changed his courſe, and bore away to the city: from whence the enemy fearing leſt he ſhould cut off their retreat precipitately quitted the field.

13. When the ſea run high, Chabrias to prevent the waves from laſhing over the ſhip faſtened hides on each ſide, from prow to ſtern; which had the propoſed effect, and kept the ſailors dry. It alſo leſſened the appearance of danger, which did not a little confuſe the crew; and enabled them to keep the deck.

14. In long voyages to guard againſt ſtorms, Chabrias carried two occaſional helms; which he fixed on either ſide the ſhip near the rowing benches. When the ſea was calm, he uſed the common helm: but in ſtorms, when the ſhip rode high on the water, he dropped the other helms, to keep her ſteady, and give a better command in directing her.

15. Cha-

15. CHABRIAS having invaded Lacedæmonia, and ravaged the country, when purſued by the Spartans under the command of Ageſilaus, poſted himſelf on an eminence; where he ſecured his priſoners and booty, and ſtrongly entrenched himſelf. The Lacedæmonians encamped at the diſtance of five furlongs from him. As ſoon as night came on, he ordered a number of fires to be lighted; and directed his troops at two o'clock to ſtrike their tents, and begin their march over the farther part of the mountain; leaving their cattle behind them. The Lacedæmonians in the mean time, ſeeing the fires, and hearing the lowing of the cattle, ſuppoſed the Athenians ſtill in camp, and early in the morning advanced to attack it: which when they approached, and found empty; Ageſilaus exclaimed, "Chabrias is an able general."

CHAP. XII.

PHOCION.

THE Athenians eager on a war againſt Thebes, which Phocion ſtrenuouſly oppoſed, carried their point againſt him, and nominated him general. He immediately ordered proclamation to be made for every Athenian, who could bear arms, under the age of ſixty, to follow him from the aſſembly, and with five days ſubſiſtence attend him to the field. A great confuſion enſued, particularly amongſt thoſe who were advanced in years; who, murmured, and flew about: exclaiming at the harſhneſs of the orders. When Phocion addreſſed them; "Why, friends, you have no room to complain of being called out on account of your age, when I, your general, at the age of eighty, go with you." The obſervation ſtopped their murmurs: and on ſecond conſideration they took Phocion's advice, and dropped the projected war.

CHAP. XIII.

CHARES.

CHARES having entertained a ſuſpicion that the enemy had ſpies in his camp, placed a ſtrong guard without the trenches, and ordered every man to accoſt his neighbour, and not to part till each had told the other, who he was, and to what company, and band, he belonged. By this device the ſpies were apprehended: being unable to tell either their company, band, comrade, or the word.

2. WHEN in Thrace, and the ſeaſon very ſevere, Chares obſerved the men ſtarved themſelves, in order to ſave their cloaths; and, benumbed with cold, did not diſcover in their performance of his orders their uſual alertneſs: he therefore ordered them to change cloaths with each other. The ſoldiers then no longer ſolicitous to ſpare another's cloaths, as they had done their own, wrapped themſelves up warm; and became ready, and alert as uſual, in executing their general's commands.

3. CHARES, in his retreat from Thrace, while the Thracians hung on him, and galled his rear, having a dangerous ground to paſs, and wiſhing to retard the enemy's purſuit, mounted his trumpets; and, detaching a party of horſe to attend them, ordered them to make a circuitous march, and as ſoon as they had got upon the enemy's rear, to ſound the charge. On hearing it, the Thracians halted: and, ſuppoſing themſelves ſurrounded by an ambuſcade, confuſedly left their ranks, and fled: leaving Chares without further loſs or danger to make good his retreat.

CHAP. XIV.

CHARIDEMUS.

THE Ilienſians, having made themſelves maſters of a city in the territories of Charidemus, and in excurſions from thence committed acts of depredation; Charidemus ſurpriſed and took an Ilienſian ſervant loaded with booty: and by promiſe of great rewards prevailed on him to betray the city into his hands. To eſtabliſh the traitor's intereſt with the watch, he ſupplied him with ſheep and other booty, on his nocturnal expeditions, which he ſhared amongſt the watch; and thereby obtained free leave to paſs and repaſs. On a night agreed on between them, he paſſed the gates, with a party he had engaged, on the pretence of aſſiſting him in bringing back a greater ſpoil. His companions Charidemus ſeized, and threw into irons; and habiting ſome of his own troops in their dreſs, he furniſhed them with a quantity of plunder, and amongſt it a horſe. In order to admit the horſe, the centinel opened the whole gate: when the ſoldiers, together with the horſe, ruſhed in, ſlew the guard, and opening the gates to the reſt of the army made themſelves maſters of the city. Thus it might be ſaid, if we were inclined to be humourous, that Ilium was taken a ſecond time by the ſtratagem of a horſe.

CHAP. XV.

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS.

DEMETRIUS PHALEREUS, when near being taken by the king of Thrace, hid himſelf in a load of ſtraw; and thus eſcaped into an adjoining territory.

CHAP. XVI.

PHILOCLES.

PHILOCLES, a general of Ptolemy, having beſieged Caunus, bribed the ſuperintendants of corn into a conſpiracy. They accordingly had it proclaimed in the city, that they meaned that day to give out the corn to the ſoldiers: who immediately left the walls, in order to ſee the corn meaſured out. Philocles took the opportunity of the abſence of the ſoldiers from their poſts; and, while the walls were left undefended, made his attack, and carried the town.

BOOK IV.

THE PREFATORY ADDRESS.

THIS Book of Stratagems I alſo addreſs to your ſacred majeſties, Antoninus and Verus: which I have written with more particular pleaſure than the reſt, as containing the exploits of your heroic anceſtors, who filled the throne of Macedon.

CHAP. I.

ARGÆUS.

IN the reign of Argæus king of Macedon, the Taulantii under their king Galaurus made an incurſion into Macedonia. Argæus, whoſe force was very ſmall, directed the Macedonian young women, as the enemy advanced, to ſhew themſelves from mount Erebœa. They accordingly did ſo; and in a numerous body pouring down from the mount, their faces concealed under chaplets, brandiſhed their thyrſuſes inſtead of ſpears. Galaurus, intimidated by their numbers, whom inſtead of women he ſuppoſed to be men, ſounded a retreat: when the Taulantii, throwing away their arms, and whatever might retard their eſcape, abandoned themſelves to a precipitate flight. Argæus, having thus obtained a victory without the hazard of a battle, erected a temple to Bacchus* Pſeudanor: and ordered the prieſteſſes of that god, who were before called Kladones† by the Macedonians, to be ever afterwards diſtinguiſhed by the title of Mimallones.

* Ψευδανορ ſignifies a deceiver in a man's appearance.

† Κλαδονας ſignifies branch-bearers, alluding to the Thyrſus. And Μιμαλλονας denote imitators.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

PHILIPPUS.

PHILIP once broke a Tarentine of rank, who had a command in his army, becauſe he uſed warm baths: ſaying, "You ſeem a ſtranger to the Macedonian cuſtoms; which do not indulge the uſe of warm water even to a woman in child-bed.

2. ENGAGING the Athenians at Chæronea, Philip made a ſham retreat: when Stratocles, the Athenian general, ordered his men to puſh forwards; crying out, "We will purſue them to the heart of Macedon." Philip coolly obſerved, "The Athenians know not how to conquer:" and ordered his phalanx to keep cloſe and firm, and to retreat ſlowly, covering themſelves with their ſhields from the attacks of the enemy. As ſoon as he had by this manœuvre drawn them from their advantageous ground, and gained an eminence, he halted; and encouraging his troops to a vigorous attack, made ſuch an impreſſion on the enemy, as ſoon determined a brilliant victory in his favour.

3. PHILIP, while encamped againſt the Thebans, was informed that two of his generals, Æropus and Damaſippus had taken from the ſtews a ſinging girl, and introduced her into the camp: and the fact being proved, he baniſhed both of them the kingdom.

4. HAVING blocked up a city of Thrace, Philip ſent to the beſieged a flag of truce: who convened an aſſembly, and introduced to it the flag, anxious to know the enemy's propoſals. Philip in the mean time directed a vigorous attack, and carried the city; while the people were more attentive to the ſuppoſed conditions of peace, than the real attacks of war.

5. AFTER an engagement with the Illyrians, Philip propoſed a truce with them, for the purpoſe of burying their dead: which being agreed

agreed to, as ſoon as the laſt man was buried, his army being drawn up and waiting the ſignal to engage, he inſtantly ordered them to charge; and put the enemy, who were unprepared, to a general rout.

6. While Philip was trying his ſtrength with Menagetes in wreſtling: the ſoldiers around were clamorous for their pay; in which he was much in arrears to them, and had not wherewith at the preſent to make it good. Dropping with ſweat, and covered as he was with duſt, he ran up to them with a laugh; "You are right, 'ſaid he,' my dear lads; and I have been perfuming* myſelf with that barbarian, in order to pay my reſpects to you, for the credit you have been ſo obliging as to give me." Having thus ſaid, he ran through the midſt of them, and plunged into a fiſh-pond. The Macedonians laughed at the humour of the prince: who continued amuſing himſelf in the water, till the ſoldiers were tired out with the neglect he paid to their remonſtrances, and went away. In his hours of gaiety Philip often uſed to mention this device, by which he had with a ſtroke of buffoonry got rid of demands, that no arguments could have reaſoned away.

7. Philip, at Chæronea, knowing the Athenians were hot† and inexperienced, and the Macedonians inured to fatigues and exerciſe, contrived to prolong the action: and reſerving his principal attack to the latter end of the engagement, the enemy weak and exhauſted were unable to ſuſtain the charge.

8. Having marched againſt the Amphiſſenſians, Philip found himſelf obſtructed by the Athenians and Thebans; who had made

* The humour expreſſed by Philip on this occaſion lies in the cuſtom, which with the antients prevailed, of waſhing and perfuming themſelves, previous to going to an entertainment, where form or reſpect was required.

† The word ὀξὺς which I have tranſlated "hot," implies in this place, "active and impreſſive in the attack." The reader is referred to the ſecond ſtratagem in this book; which alludes to the ſame action.

them-

themſelves maſters of a defile, which thus ſecured he was unable to force; and therefore had recourſe to ſtratagem. He wrote a letter to Antipater iu Macedonia, informing him that the Thracians were in rebellion, and that he was obliged for the preſent to defer his expedition againſt the Amphiſſenſians, and to march into Thrace. This letter he diſpatched by a way, where he knew it would be intercepted: which accordingly was the caſe; and Chares and Proxenus the generals, who commanded againſt him, after they had deliberated on the contents of the letter, quitted the poſt they poſſeſſed. Of their movement Philip immediately availed himſelf; and paſſing the defile without oppoſition, afterwards defeated the allies, and took Amphiſſa.

9. PHILIP was not more ſucceſsful in his arms, than he was in treaties and negotiations: and indeed he piqued himſelf more on advantages gained by theſe, than by dint of arms. For in the latter he obſerved his ſoldiers ſhared in the glory, but in the other it was all his own.

10. PHILIP accuſtomed the Macedonians to conſtant exerciſe, as well in peace, as in actual ſervice: ſo that he would frequently make them march three hundred furlongs, carrying with them their helmets, ſhields, greaves, and ſpears; and, beſides thoſe arms, their proviſions likewiſe, and utenſils for common uſe.

11. WHEN Philip advanced to Lariſſa, he pretended a fit of illneſs; in order to decoy the Aleuadians to viſit him: intending to ſeize them, and for their liberty oblige them to give up their towns. But Bæſcus appriſed the Aleuadians of the ſtratagem: which thereby fell to the ground.

12. PHILIP deſired permiſſion in a full aſſembly to addreſs the Sarnuſians; which being granted, he directed the ſoldiers, who attended him, to carry cords under their arms. When reaching out his arm, as if to harangue them, the ſignal he had fixed on, his men immediately

ſeiſed

ſeiſed on all the Sarnuſians preſent, bound them, and ſent more than ten thouſand priſoners into Macedonia.

13. When cloſely preſſed by the Thracians, Philip ordered that as ſoon as he ſounded a retreat, the rear under cover of their ſhields, ſhould ſuſtain the enemy's attack; and, by acting only on the defenſive, retard their purſuit, and thus favour the retreat of the army.

14. In an irruption into Bœotia, Philip's direct march was through a narrow paſs, which the Bœotians had ſecured, and from whence he could not diſlodge them; he therefore took another rout, and laid waſte the whole country before him. The Bœotians, not bearing to ſee their country thus deſolated, quitted their poſt; and gave him an opportunity of paſſing the defile, and purſuing the march he at firſt projected.

15. Philip had raiſed the ſcaling-ladders againſt the walls of the Methonenſians; and a ſtrong body of Macedonians advanced to the attack. As ſoon as they had mounted the walls, he ordered the ladders to be taken away: thereby leaving the aſſailants no hopes of ſafety, but in their courage.

16. The country of the Arbelians, into which Philip had made an irruption, being rough, and craggy, and covered with wood, the Barbarians concealed themſelves in the thickets: where Philip, a ſtranger to the country, knew not how to follow them, but by tracing their ſteps with blood-hounds.

17. The Athenians demanding of Philip the reſtitution of Amphipolis, and he being at that time engaged in a war with the Illyrians, however unwilling to give it up to the Athenians, conſented to make it free: with which though the Athenians appeared contented, they were not perfectly ſatisfied. Philip therefore, as ſoon as he had finiſhed the Illyrian war, returned at the head of a powerful army to Amphipolis; and in defiance of the Athenians, who had before ſhewn themſelves diſſatisfied, made himſelf maſter of the place.

18. PHILIP having beſieged Phalcidon, a city of Theſſaly, the Phalcidians capitulated; and his mercenaries entered the city to take poſſeſſion. But an ambuſh being placed on the houſes and towers, the mercenaries fell a ſacrifice to a ſhower of darts and ſtones. While the attention of the citizens was thus directed to that part of the city, where the mercenaries entered, and the ambuſcade was placed; Philip raiſed the ſcaling ladders againſt the walls on the oppoſite part of the town, and by a vigorous aſſault carried it; before the force, employed in the ambuſcade, had time to recover their poſts, and man the walls.

19. PHILIP, when he formed the deſign of reducing Theſſaly to the crown of Macedon, did not directly attack the Theſſalians in the field. But when the Pallenenſians were engaged in war with the Pharſalians, and the Pherenſians with the Lariſſæans; and other ſtates in Theſſaly with each other: his practice was in thoſe ſtruggles to give aſſiſtance to which ever power applied to him for it. And his victories on thoſe occaſions were never marked with cruelty or devaſtations. He neither diſarmed the conquered, nor deſtroyed their fortifications: but his great object was to create factions, rather than heal them; to protect the weak, and cruſh the powerful. He endeavoured always to ingratiate himſelf with the bulk of the people, and cultivated the favour of oratorical demagogues. By theſe ſtratagems Philip made himſelf maſter of Theſſaly, and not by arms.

20. PHILIP having long laid before Caræ, a well-fortified town, which he was at laſt unable to carry, found his beſt exertions neceſſary to effect a ſafe retreat, and carry off with him his machines. For this purpoſe he availed himſelf of a very dark night; and ordered the ſmiths to take his machines in pieces, imitating in the noiſe, as much as they could, the fabrication of new ones. The Carians, hearing the ſound of hammers, applied themſelves to ſtrengthen their gates, and to counter-work the effect of the enemy's ſuppoſed operations by new erections.

And

And while they were thus employed, Philip in the night ſtruck his tents, and carried off his machines.

21. When Philip advanced againſt the Byzantines, he found them ſtrongly ſupported by various allies. To break the confederacy, he diſpatched revolters into the enemy's quarters, to propagate a report, that he had detached forces into the different countries of the allies; and that ſome of their cities were at that inſtant in danger of being taken. And to give colour to this intelligence, he made detachments from his army, which he ordered out on ſhort marches different ways, without any intention to act offenſively. Theſe motions agreeing with the report of the revolters, the allies deſerted the Byzantines, to repair to the aſſiſtance of their reſpective countries.

21. As Philip, after having reduced to his obedience the countries of the Abderites and Maronites, was returning from his expedition with a great fleet, and powerful army; Chares placed an ambuſcade of twenty ſhips near Neapolis to annoy him. Philip, ſuſpecting ſuch attempt, manned four of his beſt-ſailing veſſels with the ſtouteſt and moſt experienced hands he could pick out: and ordered them to make what ſail they could before the fleet, and to paſs Neapolis, holding not far from the ſhore. In purſuit of thoſe four ſail, Chares puſhed out with his twenty ſhips: with which however, being light, and well-manned, he was not able to come up. And while he was chaſing them without effect, Philip ſlipt ſafely by Neapolis with the reſt of the fleet.

CHAP. III.

ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER whoſe ambition was, to unite all mankind to him, as the common head and ſuperiour of human nature, paſſed a decree,

that mankind ſhould no longer be called mortals, human beings, or men, but Alexanders.

2. ALEXANDER, in his wars, directed his generals to order the Macedonians to ſhave their faces; that their enemies in engaging might never lay hold on their beards.

3. AT the ſiege of Tyre, Alexander having reſolved to join the city which was then inſular to the continent, by raiſing a mound in the ſurrounding waters*, himſelf firſt carried a baſket of ſand, which he threw into it. As ſoon as the Macedonians ſaw their king at work with his own hands, they all inſtantly threw aſide their robes, and ſoon raiſed the ground.

4. HAVING left a part of his army before Tyre, Alexander himſelf marched into Arabia. His abſence gave the Tyrians new ſpirits: who advanced beyond their walls, engaged the Macedonians in the field, and frequently defeated them. Parmenio, Alexander's general, gave him notice of what had paſſed; who ſuddenly returning, and ſeeing the Macedonians retreating before the enemy, inſtead of flying to their aſſiſtance, marched directly to the town; which he ſurpriſed, evacuated by the Tyrian forces, and took it by ſtorm. The Tyrians, finding their city taken, ſurrendered themſelves and their arms to the diſcretion of the Macedonian conqueror.

5. WHEN Alexander advanced againſt Darius, he ordered the Macedonians, as ſoon as they drew near the Perſians, to fall down on

* In my tranſlation of this ſtratagem I have rather endeavoured to explain an hiſtorical fact, than content myſelf with a literal tranſlation: which would have imperfectly repreſented the great deſign Alexander in this work conceived, and executed. For a more full account of which the curious reader is referred to Arrian. In Polyænus the object is merely to ſhew Alexander's addreſs in promoting alacrity in his army in the proſecution of ſo laborious an undertaking. And even ſo far conſidered, the paſſage ſeems faulty. Μιταξαλιν χωμα τοις τειχεσιν, being a phraſe, that very imperfectly deſcribes the meaning it was intended to convey.

their

their hands and knees: and, as ſoon as ever the trumpet ſounded the charge, to riſe up and vigorouſly attack the enemy. They did ſo: and the Perſians, conſidering it as an act of reverence, abated of their impetuoſity, and their minds became ſoftened towards the proſtrate foe. Darius too was led to think, he had gained a victory without the hazard of a battle. When on ſound of the trumpet, the Macedonians ſprung up, and made ſuch an impreſſion on the enemy, that their centre was broken, and the Perſians entirely defeated.

6. At Arbelæ, where the laſt battle between Alexander and Darius was fought, a conſiderable body of Perſians had made a circuit, and ſeiſed the Macedonian carriage-horſes and baggage. Parmenio, obſerving their movement, deſired Alexander to order a detachment to protect them. By no means, replied Alexander; I have no troops to ſpare againſt prædatory parties: my buſineſs is with the enemy; and I muſt not weaken my phalanx. If we be conquered, we ſhall not want our baggage: and if we conquer, both our's and the enemy's will become our own.

7. After the conqueſt of Aſia, the Macedonians being inſtant with Alexander, and extravagant in their demands, on preſumption of their ſervices; he ordered them to take their poſts by themſelves in arms: and oppoſite to them he ordered his Perſian troops to do the ſame. The forces being thus ſeparated, "Now, 'ſaid he,' Macedonians, chuſe your general: and I will take the Perſians. If you beat me, I will comply with all your demands: and you, if I beat you, will learn to be quiet." Struck with the greatneſs of ſoul, this ſtratagem diſcovered, the Macedonians ever after conducted themſelves with more moderation.

8. In his firſt action with the Perſians, Alexander ſeeing the Macedonians give way, rode through the ranks, calling out to his men, "One

"One effort more, my Macedonians, one glorious effort." Animated by their prince, they made a vigorous attack: and the enemy abandoned themſelves to flight. Thus did that critical moment determine the victory.

9. ALEXANDER in his Indian expedition advanced to the Hydaſpes, with intention to croſs it: when Porus appeared with his army on the other ſide, determined to diſpute his paſſage. Alexander then marched towards the head of the river, and attempted to croſs it there. Thither alſo Porus marched, and drew up his army on the oppoſite ſide. He then made the ſame effort lower down; there too Porus oppoſed him. Thoſe frequent appearances of intention to croſs it, without ever making one real attempt to effect it, the Indians ridiculed: and concluding that he had no real deſign to paſs the river, they became more negligent in attending his motions. When Alexander by a rapid march gaining the banks, effected his purpoſe on barges, boats, and hides ſtuffed with ſtraw; before the enemy had time to come up with him: who deceived by ſo many feint attempts, yielded him at laſt an uninterrupted paſſage.

10. ALEXANDER finding his men, glutted with the immenſe wealth of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves in Perſia, and which they carried about with them in carriages, did not at all reliſh this new expedition into India, ordered firſt the royal carriages to be deſtroyed; and afterwards all the reſt. The Macedonians, thus deprived of their treaſures, immediately became anxious for more; and, in order to obtain it, of courſe ready for new enterpriſes.

11. THE Thracians endeavouring to make an impreſſion on the Macedonian phalanx by a great number of chariots, which were directed againſt them, Alexander ordered his men to avoid them, if they could; and if not, to throw themſelves on the ground, holding over them their ſhields: by

by which means the carriages on ſpeed paſſed over, without hurting them. And by this manœuvre the numerous carriages of the enemy were rendered uſeleſs.

12. When Alexander advanced againſt Thebes, he planted in ambuſh a concealed body of troops under the command of Antipater; while he himſelf marched openly againſt the enemy's ſtrongeſt works: which the Thebans with great obſtinacy defended. In the midſt of the engagement Antipater ſecretly quitted his ambuſh, and wheeling round attacked the walls in an oppoſite quarter, where they were weakeſt, and ill-manned; and made himſelf maſter of the city. He immediately hoiſted the Macedonian colours: which Alexander ſeeing called out, "The town was his own." The Thebans, who had till then made a gallant reſiſtance, as ſoon as they ſaw their city in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, abandoned themſelves to flight.

13. The Macedonians having fled from the field, Alexander changed the coat of mail into a breaſt-plate: which was a protection to them, as long as they boldly faced the enemy: but if they fled, they expoſed to the foe their naked backs. This had ſuch an effect: that they never afterwards fled; but, if they were overpowered, always retreated in good order.

14. After Alexander had learned from the augurs, that the auguries were propitious, he ordered the victims to be carried round the army; that the ſoldiers, not depending on what was told them, might be convinced with their own eyes of the ground of their hopes in the enſuing action.

15. When Alexander entered Aſia, to render Memnon general of the enemy's forces ſuſpected by the Perſians, he ordered the party, he had detached to ravage the country, not to touch his property, nor commit any depredations on his eſtates.

16. When Alexander ſurveyed the advantageous poſition of the Perſians

ſians on the oppoſite ſide of the Granicus, determined to diſpute his paſſage over it; he changed his ground: and, at the head of his phalanx, plunging into the river at a place above the enemy, he effected a paſſage; and after an obſtinate engagement routed the Perſian army.

17. At the battle of Arbelæ, Darius had planted the ground between the two camps with crows-feet: which Alexander having diſcovered, advanced, with his right wing aſlant, ſkirting the armed ground: and in that order directed the army to ſupport him. To oppoſe that manœuvre, and throw him upon the ground he ſeemed to avoid, the Perſian weakened his lines and detached his cavalry: which Alexander obſerving, ſupported by Parmenio, and flanked by the crows-feet, fell upon the weakened lines of the enemy, threw them into diſorder, and begun the rout.

18. Alexander, after he had paſſed the Tygris, while the Perſians were laying the whole country waſte with fire, ſent a deputation to expoſtulate with them on their outrages, and to conjure them to regard their own preſervation, and ſpare the country.

19. Alexander, when in Hyrcania, having been informed that his character and conduct were aſperſed both by the Macedonians and Greeks, aſſembled his friends, and told them; the ſituation of his affairs at home required him to ſend letters to Macedonia, and inform his ſubjects, that he ſhould certainly return within three years: and he deſired his officers at the ſame time to write letters to their reſpective friends, to the ſame purport; which to a man they all did. As ſoon as the letter-carriers had got about three miles from the camp, he ordered them to be brought back, opened all the letters, and from thence learned the opinion, that every one entertained of him.

20. Alexander having cloſely beſieged a fortified place in India, the beſieged agreed to evacuate the fort on condition that they might be permitted to march out with their arms. Which being complied with, the

the garriſon marched out, and encamped on a hill; where they entrenched themſelves, and poſted a guard. Upon Alexander's advancing againſt them, the Indians urged to him the obligation of the treaty. To which the Macedonian replied, "I gave you leave to quit the fort; but not a word was mentioned in the treaty of any further movement.

21. PITTACUS, the grandſon of Porus, advantageouſly poſted himſelf in a narrow valley to intercept Alexander in his march. The valley was long, but not more than four furlongs wide: and terminated in a very ſtrait defile. Adapting his march to the nature of the ground, Alexander formed his cavalry into a double phalanx; and ordered them, bearing upon their reins, to march in a cloſe compact body: and, as ſoon as the enemy attacked their right wing, to receive them upon their ſpears, and give their horſes the rein; and, when they had cleared the paſs, to attack the enemy's rear. Having thus given his orders, he begun his march nearly in the ſhape of a gnomon. As ſoon as thoſe, who were poſted in the left wing, ſaw the rear of the right on ſpeed; ſetting up a ſhout, and in the ſame manner giving reins to their horſes, they attacked the Indians: who afraid of being blocked up in the valley, precipitately fled to the narrow paſs, in order to make their eſcape; when many were cut to pieces by the Macedonians, and many more trampled to death by their own horſe.

22. IN the battle againſt Porus Alexander poſted part of his cavalry in the right wing, and part he left as a body of reſerve at a ſmall diſtance on the plain. His left wing conſiſted of the phalanx and his elephants. Porus ordered his elephants to be formed againſt him, himſelf taking his ſtation on an elephant at the head of his left wing. The elephants were drawn up within fifty yards of each other; and in thoſe interſtices was poſted his infantry. So that his front exhibited the appearance of a great wall; the elephants looked like ſo many towers; and the infantry like the parapet between them. Alexander directed his

infantry to attack the enemy in front; while himſelf at the head of his horſe advanced againſt the cavalry. Againſt thoſe movements Porus ably guarded. But the beaſts could not be kept in their ranks; and, wherever they deſerted them, the Macedonians in a compact body pouring in cloſed with the enemy, and attacked them both in front and flank. The body of reſerve in the mean time wheeling round, and attacking their rear, compleated the defeat.

23. The Theſſalians having ſecured the poſt at Tempe, which Alexander ſaw it impracticable to force, he cut holes in the rugged rock of Oſſa, which ſerved as ſteps; on which he marched his army: and thus over the top of Oſſa opened himſelf a paſſage into Theſſaly; while the Theſſalians were employed in defending the paſs at Tempe. At this day may be ſeen the rock of Oſſa cut in the manner of a ladder, which now bears the name of Alexander's ladder.

24. In Macedonia and among the Greeks, Alexander's court of juſtice was plain and ſimple; but among the barbarians, in order to ſtrike them with the greater awe, it was moſt ſplendid and imperial. In Bactria, Hyrcania, and India when he heard cauſes, the apparatus and formality of his court were as follows. The pavilion was large enough to contain a hundred tables; and was ſupported by fifty pillars of gold: and the canopy was adorned with various gold ornaments. Stationed round the pavilion within were, firſt, five hundred Perſians, dreſſed in purple and white veſts: and next to thoſe an equal number of archers in different dreſſes of yellow, blue, and ſcarlet. Before thoſe ſtood five hundred Macedonians, with ſilver ſhields, the talleſt men that could be picked out. In the middle of the pavilion was a golden throne, on which the monarch ſate to hear cauſes: attended on either ſide by his guards. Round the pavilion on the outſide were ranged a number of elephants, and a thouſand Macedonians in the Macedonian habit. Behind thoſe were five hundred Suſians in purple dreſſes: and the whole

was

was ſurrounded with ten thouſand Perſians, diſtinguiſhable for their ſhape, and ſize, and dreſſed in the Perſian manner, with ſcimitars at their ſides. Such was the court of Alexander amongſt the barbarians.

25. ALEXANDER, marching through a ſandy deſert, himſelf as well as his army were in great diſtreſs for water; when one of the ſcouts, having in the hollow of a rock diſcovered a little, brought it to him in his helmet. After he had ſhewed it to his army, in order to revive their ſpirits with the hopes of water being near at hand; without moving it to his lips, before them all he poured it out upon the ground. The Macedonians immediately ſet up a ſhout, and bade him lead on; for their king's example had taught them to conquer thirſt.

26. ALEXANDER by a forced march endeavoured to gain the Tigris, before Darius: when a panic* ſeiſed his rear, and ran through the army. The king ordered the trumpets to ſound the ſignal of ſafety, the firſt rank immediately to throw down their arms at their feet, and the next to do the ſame. This order being obſerved through the whole army, they were convinced the cauſe of their confuſion was a panic: from

* Theſe panic fears were ſudden conſternations that ſometimes ſeiſed men without any viſible cauſe; and were therefore imputed to the operations of dæmons, eſpecially Pan, upon men's fancies. Inſtances of it occur in more ſtratagems of Polyænus, than this one: and there is frequent mention made of it in antient hiſtory. We are informed, when Brennus, the Gallic general, had been defeated by the Greeks, the night following he and the remainder of his troops were ſeiſed with ſuch terrors and diſtractions; that ignorant of what they were doing, they fell to killing and wounding one another, till they were all deſtroyed. Such another fright gave the Athenians great advantage againſt the Perſians: in memory of which piece of ſervice Miltiades erected a ſtatue to the god Pan. The reaſons why theſe terrors were attributed to Pan are variouſly aſſerted. One is the device of Pan mentioned in the ſecond chapter of Polyænus's firſt book of Stratagems.

In theſe terrors, whereof there was either no apparent cauſe, or at leaſt none anſwerable to the greatneſs of the ſudden conſternation, it was an uſual method to do ſomething directly contrary to what the danger would have required, had it been really ſuch, as it was vainly imagined. Thus Alexander, in the inſtance before us, ordered his men to diſarm themſelves.

whence as ſoon as they recovered themſelves, they took up their arms, and purſued their march.

27. AFTER Alexander had defeated Darius at the battle of Arbelæ, Phraſaortes a relation of that monarch in great force poſted himſelf at the gates of Suſa: which is a narrow paſs between high and ſteep mountains. This the Macedonians in vain endeavoured to force: the barbarians eaſily defended it; annoying the enemy with arrows, ſlings, and ſtones. Alexander ordered a retreat, and encamped about thirty furlongs diſtant. The oracle at Delphos had formerly declared, that a Lycian ſtranger ſhould be his guide againſt the Perſians. A herdſman came up to Alexander, in his ruſtic dreſs, ſaying, his name was Lycius; and informed him, there was a private road, which winded round the mountains, covered with wood, and known to no one but himſelf: and well known to him, as affording excellent paſturage. Alexander remembered the oracle, and liſtened to the herdſman's information. He then ordered the whole army to remain in camp, and light a number of fires in ſuch conſpicuous places, as might be beſt ſeen by the Perſians: and gave private orders to Philotas and Hephæſtion, as ſoon as they ſaw the Macedonians ſhew themſelves on the mountains, to attack the enemy below. Himſelf with his guards, one heavy-armed troop, and all the Scythian archers, conducted by Lycius, marched eighty furlongs through the private road; and halted in the middle of a thick wood. About midnight by a circuitous march he gained a poſition a little above the enemy; who were then buried in ſleep; and in the morning ſounded the charge from the top of the mountains. Hephæſtion and Philotas immediately marched out of the camp, and advanced againſt them on the plain: who, thus attacked both above and below, were part of them cut to pieces, ſome thrown from the precipices, and others taken priſoners.

28. ALEXANDER having been obliged in the heat of ſummer to make

make an expeditious retreat, the enemy hanging upon his rear, directed his march near a river; when obſerving that his men, who were very thirſty, looked anxiouſly at the water, leſt by ſtopping to drink they ſhould loſe their ranks, and alſo retard his march, he ordered proclamation to be made, "That no man ſhould touch that river, for its waters were fatal." Fearing the conſequences they refrained from drinking it, and without intermiſſion purſued their march. Which as ſoon as they had performed, and the army was encamped; both Alexander and his officers drank openly of the ſtream; and the ſoldiers, laughing at the trick their general had played them, drank freely of it too; liberated from every fear either of the enemy, or the water.

29. When Alexander penetrated into Sogdiana, a country rough and rugged and traced with no roads, his march was attended with great difficulties. In the middle of it extended a high and craggy rock; its tops acceſſible only to the birds. Around it was a thick and continued wood: which rendered the product of the place ſtill more ſecure. There Ariomazes poſted himſelf, with a numerous and determined band of Sogdians. On the part of the rock, where he had fortified himſelf, were fine ſprings, and plenty of proviſion. Alexander riding round, and reconnoitring the place, obſerved behind the rock a ſlope particularly well-covered with wood. There he ordered three hundred young men, expert in climbing precipices, without their arms to endeavour to make their way through the trees, aſſiſting each other by faſtening as they went up ſmall cords to the boughs. And as ſoon as they had reached the top, looſing the white belts they had on, they were directed to fix them upon poles, and extend them above the trees; that the gleaming girdles brandiſhed about might be ſeen as well by the Macedonians below, as the Barbarians above them. The active and intrepid band, as ſoon as they had with difficulty reached the top, at ſun-riſe according to orders brandiſhed their belts: when the Macedonians

cedonians ſet up a general ſhout. Ariomazes apprehending the whole army were in poſſeſſion of the top of the mountain, and above their heads, ſurrendered himſelf and his rock to Alexander, ſuppoſing his power and abilities divine.

30. The Calthæans, a people of India, Alexander had entirely exterminated; having ſlain all that were able to bear arms, and levelled their city Sangalata with the ground. This act prejudiced him much in the opinion of the Indians; who conſidered him as a ſavage, and a free-booter. In order to remove theſe prejudices, from the next city, he reduced in India, he took hoſtages; and advancing againſt Pæta, a large and populous city, before his army he placed the hoſtages, old men, and boys, and women. As ſoon as the enemy ſaw their own countrymen, and from the condition in which they appeared concluded the humanity with which their conqueror had treated them, they opened their gates, and with his hoſtages readily received him: and this account of his clemency being ſtudiouſly propagated induced other Indian nations voluntarily to ſubmit to him.

31. The country of the Coſſæans Alexander found rough and uncultivated, the mountains high and almoſt inacceſſible, the poſts defended by a numerous and reſolute body of men: he had therefore little hopes of making himſelf maſter of it. At that time he received information of the death of Hephæſtion, who died at Babylon: in conſequence of which he ordered a general mourning; and put the army in motion, in order to celebrate his funeral. The Coſſæan ſcouts ſeeing that, and ſuppoſing them going to evacuate the country, reported the motions of the Macedonian army; and the Coſſæans began to diſband. Alexander, having received intelligence of the error, into which his movement had betrayed the enemy, detached a body of horſe to ſecure the poſts on the mountains: then wheeling round he joined the detachment of cavalry, and compleated the conqueſt of the country. This cir-

circumſtance, it was ſaid, ariſing from Hephæſtion's death, conſoled Alexander for the loſs of his friend.

32. In the palace of the Perſian monarch Alexander read a bill of fare for the king's dinner and ſupper, that was engraven on a column of braſs: on which were alſo other regulations, which Cyrus had directed. It run thus.

"Of fine wheat flour four hundred artabæ (a Median artaba is an Attic buſhel), of ſecond flour three hundred artabæ, and of third flour the ſame: in the whole one thouſand artabæ of wheat flour for ſupper. Of the fineſt barley flour two hundred artabæ, of the ſecond four hundred, and four hundred of the third: in all one thouſand artabæ of barley flour. Of oatmeal two hundred artabæ. Of paſte mixed for paſtry of different kinds ten artabæ. Of creſſes chopped ſmall, and ſifted, and formed into a kind of ptiſan, ten artabæ. Of muſtard-ſeed the third of an artaba. Male ſheep four hundred. Oxen a hundred. Horſes thirty. Fat geeſe four hundred. Three hundred turtles. Small birds of different kinds ſix hundred. Lambs three hundred. Goſlings a hundred. Thirty head of deer. Of new milk ten mariſes (a maris contains ten attic choas). Of milk whey ſweetened ten mariſes. Of garlick a talent's worth. Of ſtrong onions half a talent's worth. Of knot graſs an artaba. Of the juice of benzoin two minæ. Of cumin an artaba. Of benzoin a talent worth. Of rich cider the fourth of an artaba. Of compound juices an artaba. Of cumin paſte the fourth of an artaba. Of millet ſeed three talents worth. Of aniſe flowers three minæ. Of coriander ſeed the third of an artaba. Of melon ſeed two capiſes. Of parſnips ten artabæ. Of ſweet wine five mariſes. Of ſalted gongylis five mariſes. Of pickled capers five mariſes. Of ſalt ten artabæ. Of Æthiopian cumin ſix capiſes (a capis is an attic chœnix). Of dried aniſe thirty minæ. Of parſley ſeed four capiſes. Oil of Siſamin ten mariſes. Cream five mariſes. Oil of cinnamon five mariſes. Oil of

acan-

acanthus five mariſes. Oil of ſweet almonds three mariſes. Of dried ſweet almonds three artabæ. Of wine five hundred mariſes. (And if he ſupped at Babylon or Suſa, one half was palm wine, and the other half wine expreſſed from grapes). Two hundred load of dry wood, and one hundred load of green. Of fluid honey a hundred ſquare palathæ, containing the weight of about ten minæ. When he was in Media, there were added—of baſtard ſaffron ſeed three artabæ: of ſaffron two minæ. This was the appointment for dinner and ſupper. He alſo expended in largeſſes five hundred artabæ of fine wheat flour. Of fine barley flour a thouſand artabæ: and of other kinds of flour a thouſand artabæ. Of rice five hundred artabæ. Of corn five hundred mariſes. Of corn for the horſes twenty thouſand artabæ. Of ſtraw ten thouſand load. Of vetches five thouſand load. Of oil of Siſamin two hundred mariſes. Of vinegar a hundred mariſes. Of creſſes chopped ſmall thirty artabæ. All, that is here enumerated, was diſtributed among the forces, that attended him. In dinner, and ſupper, and in largeſſes, the above was the king's daily expenditure.

WHILE the Macedonians read this appointment of the Perſian monarch's table, with admiration of the happineſs of a prince, who diſplayed ſuch affluence; Alexander ridiculed him, as an unfortunate man, who could wantonly involve himſelf in ſo many cares; and ordered the pillar, on which theſe articles were engraved, to be demoliſhed: obſerving to his friends, that it was no advantage to a king to live in ſo luxurious a manner; for cowardice and daſtardy were the certain conſequences of luxury and diſſipation. Accordingly, added he, you have experienced that thoſe, who have been uſed to ſuch revels, never knew how to face danger in the field.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

ANTIPATER.

ANTIPATER, in the Thracian war, having advanced into the country of the Tetrachoritæ, ordered fire to be ſet to the horſes' hay, which lay before his pavilion. And as ſoon as it flamed out, the trumpets ſounded the charge; when the Macedonians repaired to the royal pavilion, with their ſpears all raiſed on high. The Tetrachoritæ, ſtruck with terror at ſuch marks of frantic deſperation, made a precipitate retreat; leaving to Antipater a cheap and eaſy victory.

2. When Antipater attempted to croſs the Sperchius, and found the Theſſalian cavalry drawn up on the other ſide, ready to diſpute his paſſage; he retreated to his camp: and ordered the Macedonians to reſt on their arms, and not to unbridle their horſes. The Theſſalians, left without an enemy, directed their horſes with all ſpeed to Lamia, to dine at their own houſes. Antipater in the mean time by an expeditious march advanced to the river, croſſed it without oppoſition, and afterwards took Lamia by ſurpriſe.

3. To impreſs the Theſſalians with an opinion, that his cavalry was very numerous, Antipater advanced with a number of aſſes and mules; which he mounted with men, armed as troopers: but the firſt line of every troop he formed of his real cavalry. The enemy ſeeing ſo formidable an appearance, and ſuppoſing not only the front lines, but all the reſt, to be cavalry, abandoned themſelves to flight. This ſtratagem Ageſilaus alſo employed againſt Æropus in Macedonia; and Eumenes againſt Antigonus in Aſia.

CHAP. V.

PARMENIO.

PARMENIO, after the battle at Iſſus, having been detached by Alexander to Damaſcus, to eſcort the baggage, fell in with a body of heavy-armed troops. Apprehenſive that the Barbarians, who had the care of the baggage, might, during the action, through fear deſert their charge, and run away, he diſpatched three troops of horſe to them; with injunctions to proclaim, that whoever of them did not hold his horſes with his own hands, ſhould be put to death. This proclamation had its effect: the Barbarians all held their horſes, and took good care of the baggage.

CHAP. VI.

ANTIGONUS.

ANTIGONUS made himſelf maſter of Corinth by the following ſtratagem. While Alexander was in poſſeſſion of the fort, he died: and left Nicæa a widow, who was then not very young. Antigonus propoſed a marriage between her and his ſon Demetrius: to which the ſplendour of royalty eaſily obtained her conſent. A ſacrifice was offered, and all the previous ceremonies of marriage, according to the Grecian inſtitution, were performed. A great concourſe of people were aſſembled on the occaſion: and the guards attended Nicæa, dreſſed in royal robes, and wantoning in affected ſtate to the theatre. But the bride had no ſooner entered it, than Antigonus, no longer ſolicitous about the nuptial ceremonies, made a vigorous attack upon the fort,

and

and carried it with eaſe; while the guards were chiefly employed on the feſtivity of the royal nuptials. Thus Antigonus poſſeſſed himſelf of all Corinth: and ſo terminated the propoſed nuptials.

2. ANTIGONUS, in treating with an embaſſy, uſed previouſly to inform himſelf from the public records, who were the perſons that compoſed the laſt embaſſy from the ſame quarter, the ſubject of it, and every particular relative to it. With all theſe circumſtances he, in the courſe of converſation, would uſually entertain the ambaſſadors: and by theſe means wormed himſelf into a degree of familiarity with them; and at the ſame time impreſſed them with an idea of his extraordinary memory.

3. AT the ſiege of Megara, Antigonus brought his elephants into the field: among which the Megarenſians, after having daubed their ſwine with pitch, and ſet fire to it, let them looſe. The animals grunting and crying under the torture of the fire, ſprung forwards as hard as they could among the elephants: who confuſed and frighted broke their ranks, and ran different ways. Antigonus ordered the Indians ever after, in training up their elephants, to bring up ſwine among them: that the beaſts might thus become accuſtomed to the ſight of them, and to their noiſe.

4. ANTIGONUS by a device once ſaved Antipater from being ſtoned by the Macedonians. Through the midſt of the camp run a rapid river, over which was a bridge. On one ſide were the Macedonians, on the other Antigonus with his own horſe. The ſoldiers were inſtant and clamorous for their pay; and threatened Antipater with death, if he any longer trifled with them, and did not immediately comply with their demands. Unable to make good to them their arrears, and alarmed at the danger that threatened his diſappointment of them, he conſulted Antigonus, who adviſed him to leave the camp; and undertook to favour his eſcape. Antigonus accordingly paſſed the

bridge in full armour, and rode directly through the phalanx, thereby dividing it; and turned firſt to one diviſion, and then to the other, as if he was going to harangue them. The Macedonians paid every attention due to his rank and character; and followed him with great ſolicitude to hear what he had to offer. As ſoon as they formed round him, he begun a long harangue in defence of Antipater; promiſing, aſſuring, and urging every conſideration to induce them to acquieſce; till he ſhould be in a ſituation that might enable him to ſatisfy their demands. During this prolix harangue, Antipater paſſed the bridge with a party of horſe; and eſcaped the ſoldiers' reſentment.

5. ANTIGONUS, when in force ſuperiour to the enemy, always engaged coolly; but if inferiour, attacked with all poſſible vigour: eſteeming a glorious death preferable to an ignominious life.

6. WHILE Antigonus wintered in Cappadocia, three thouſand heavy-armed Macedonians revolted from him: and having advantageouſly poſted themſelves on the mountains, they ravaged Lycaonia, and Phrygia. Antigonus thought it cruel, to put ſuch a number of men to death; and yet was afraid, leſt they ſhould join the enemy, who were commanded by Lacetas. He therefore put in execution the following ſtratagem. He diſmiſſed Leonidas, one of his generals; who immediately went over to the revolters, and offered to join them. His offer they readily embraced; and appointed him their general. The firſt ſtep he took, was to prevail on them not to attach themſelves to any party: which eaſed Antigonus of his apprehenſions. He contrived afterwards to draw them from the mountains to a place, where cavalry might act, of which they were deſtitute. There Antigonus with a detachment of horſe ſurpriſed them, and ſeiſed Holcias and two of the principals in the revolt; who threw themſelves upon his mercy, and begged their lives: which he granted, on condition, that they would without tumult and confuſion quit the

the camp, and return into Macedonia. They accepted the terms: and Leonidas was diſpatched to conduct them to Macedonia, and deliver them at their reſpective homes.

7. As Antigonus was in full march after Attalus, Alcetas, and Docimus, three able generals of the Macedonians; and in hopes of ſurpriſing their camp in the ſtreights of Piſidia: the elephants gave mouth, and appriſed the Macedonians of his approach; for he only in his army uſed thoſe beaſts. Alcetas with the heavy-armed troops immediately endeavoured to gain the ſummit of the ſteep and craggy mountains. Inſtead of following him, Antigonus wheeled round the mountain; with all poſſible expedition directing his march to the quarter where the army was encamped: whom he ſurpriſed, and ſurrounded before they had time to form; and thus obtained a victory without ſlaughter, the enemy ſurrendering themſelves priſoners of war.

8. ANTIGONUS fitted out a fleet of a hundred and thirty ſail, the command of which he gave to Nicanor: who engaged the fleet of Polyſperchon, which was commanded by Clitus. The battle was fought in the Helleſpont; when Nicanor, whoſe inexperience engaged the enemy with the ſwell of the tide againſt him*, loſt ſeventy ſhips. The victory became deciſive on the part of the enemy: when juſt at even Antigonus reached the fleet. Undaunted at the defeat he had received, he ordered the ſixty ſhips that remained, to be ready to renew the action the next morning: and on board each of them poſted ſome of the braveſt and moſt reſolute men of his own guards; whom he commanded to threaten

* When it is conſidered, that ſhips of war, though not wholly deſtitute of ſails, were chiefly rowed with oars, and eſpecially in engagements; that they might be more able to tack about upon any advantage, and approach the enemy on his weakeſt ſide: where there was a flux of the tide, it may be eaſily conceived to have been a matter of great conſequence to gain it.

death

death to all, who would not bear boldly down upon the enemy. And Byzantium, then in alliance with him, being ſituated near at hand, he ordered from thence light-armed, and heavy-armed troops, and archers, of each a thouſand; whom he poſted on the ſhore, in order to ſupport the fleet, by annoying the enemy with javelins and arrows. This was all effected in a ſingle night. At day break a ſhower of javelins and arrows was poured upon the enemy; who juſt turning out, and ſcarcely awake, were deſperately wounded before they well knew the quarter from whence they were attacked. Some cut their cables, and others weighed their anchors; while nothing prevailed but noiſe and confuſion. Antigonus ut the ſame time ordered the ſixty ſhips to bear down upon them: when, thus attacked from the ſea quarter, and from land, the conquerors were obliged to reſign their victory to the conquered.

9. AFTER the naval victory in the Helleſpont, Antigonus ordered his fleet to cruize towards Phœnicia: while the ſailours were adorned with chaplets, and the ſhips decorated with the ornaments of the enemy's fleet. And his captains he ordered to ſail as near as they could to the harbours, and cities, they paſſed; that ſo the victory might be publiſhed throughout all Aſia. The Phœnician ſhips, bound for Roſium, a port of Cilicia, and charged with great ſums of money from Eumenes, were under the conduct of Soſigenes: and while he was obſerving the tides at Orthiomagis, the crews of the Phœnician veſſels, when they ſaw the victorious fleet ſplendidly adorned, ſeiſed the treaſures they carried, and leaped on board the veſſels of Antigonus; who thereby became poſſeſſed both of great treaſures and an addition of hands.

10. AFTER an engagement between Antigonus and Eumenes, in which the victory was undecided; Eumenes ſent a herald to Antigonus, to treat with him for mutual conſent to bury their ſlain. Antigonus having been informed, his own loſs exceeded that of the enemy, to con-

conceal the fact, detained the herald, till his own ſlain had been all burnt. And after they were buried, he diſmiſſed the herald, and acceded to the propoſal.

15. While Antigonus lay in winter quarters at Gadamertes, a city of the Medes, Eumenes blocked him up there: having poſted a cordon of troops to the extent of a thouſand furlongs. The roads on which the troops were poſted, lay over the mountains. Below was a level plain, that boaſted nothing but ſulphur mines, and ſtinking bogs, barren and uninhabited; as affording neither water, nor graſs, nor wood, nor plant. Through this plain Antigonus determined to march, thereby eſcaping the force that was poſted on the road; and paſſing through the midſt of the generals, whoſe ſtation was on either ſide of the plain. For this purpoſe he ordered ten thouſand caſks to be got ready and filled with water, and proviſion for ten days; with barley for the horſes, and what fodder they might have occaſion for. As ſoon as theſe preparations were made, he in the night began his march through the inhoſpitable plain; ſtrictly forbidding any fires to be lighted, leſt thoſe, who were poſted at the feet of the mountains, ſhould obſerve them, and by that means diſcover their march. Nor indeed would it have been diſcovered at all, had his orders been exactly complied with. But on a night particularly cold, ſome of the ſoldiers lighted fires: the flames of which the enemy obſerving, diſcovered his movement, juſt as he had cleared the plain; and falling upon his rear, did ſome execution there. But that affects not the ſtratagem, which was ſo happily conceived; that had it been as properly executed, not a man would have been loſt.

12. Antigonus, having poſted himſelf on the ſide of a mountain, and obſerving Eumenes's ranks, drawn up on the plain, to be very weak, ordered ſome troops of horſe to wheel round, and fall upon his rear: which they did, and brought off a conſiderable part of his baggage.

13. Anti-

13. ANTIGONUS engaged Eumenes at Gabiæ. The ſoil of the plain, on which they fought, was light and ſandy: and two great armies engaging on it, raiſed ſuch clouds of duſt, as prevented both armies from diſcovering each other's movements. They fought hand to hand; when Antigonus, having learned that the baggage of the enemy was left at a little diſtance behind, with which were their wives, and children, miſtreſſes, ſlaves, gold, and ſilver, and whatever of value they, who had followed the fortunes of Eumenes, had brought from the army of Alexander, detached ſome choice troops of horſe to ſeiſe the baggage, and bring it off to his own camp. They accordingly, while the armies were cloſely engaged, wheeled round, and, their movement concealed by a cloud of duſt, executed their orders, and brought off the baggage. After the battle was over, it appeared that Antigonus had loſt five thouſand men, and Eumenes only three hundred. The latter therefore retreated to their camp in high ſpirits on the decided ſucceſs of the day. But as ſoon as they diſcovered their baggage was carried off, and every thing loſt, that was dear to them; the palm of victory became ſhaded with mourning, and every expreſſion of grief: with which they were ſo far tranſported, the more they reflected on their loſs, that many of them ſent a deputation to Antigonus, with a tendre of their ſervice. Finding the effect that the loſs of their baggage had on Eumenes's army, Antigonus followed it up with a proclamation; that he would reſtore without ranſom to every ſoldier his property. Numbers upon this proclamation immediately revolted to him; not only Macedonians, but alſo ten thouſand Perſians under the command of Peuceſtes. For as ſoon as he ſaw the Macedonians incline to Antigonus, he followed their example. And in ſhort ſuch a change of ſentiment and fortune did this circumſtance produce, that his own guards*

* The royal guards, ſtiled Argyraſpides, from their ſilver ſhields. See Book IV. Ch. III. Str. 24.

delivered

delivered up Eumenes a priſoner to Antigonus; who became monarch of all Aſia.

14. HAVING heard that Python, governor of Media, had raiſed a foreign army to ſupport him in a revolt, Antigonus diſſembled his belief of it: obſerving to thoſe who had given him the information, "I can give no credit to this report of Python; for I intended myſelf to furniſh him with five thouſand armed Macedonians and Thracians, and a thouſand guards." Python informed of this, and giving full credit to the regard Antigonus had expreſſed for him, immediately waited on him to receive the intended ſupplies. When introducing Python to the Macedonians, he ſignified to them his crime, and ordered him to execution.

15. The Argyraſpides, that had delivered up to him Eumenes as his priſoner, Antigonus liberally rewarded. But to guard againſt a ſimilar act of perfidy in them to himſelf, he ordered a thouſand of them to ſerve under Sibyrtius governor of Arabia. Others he diſpoſed of in garriſons, in remote and uncultivated countries. And thus he very ſoon got rid of them all.

16. WHEN Antigonus beſieged Rhodes, he committed the conduct of the ſiege to his ſon Demetrius; proclaiming ſafety to the Rhodians, both as to their perſons and property. And alſo to all merchants about Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, and even to thoſe of Rhodes who had concerns on the ſea, he gave leave to trade ſecurely on any ſea, provided they never touched at Rhodes. That, thus deprived of all foreign aſſiſtance and ſupplies, the city might be the more eaſily reduced; the auxiliaries Ptolemy had ſent them not being able to hold out long againſt Demetrius.

17. ANTIGONUS, having taken into pay ſome Gallic mercenaries under the command of Biderius, at the rate of a gold Macedonic, gave up to them, as hoſtages in ſecurity of payment, ſome men and boys of rank and family. The enemy, againſt whom the Gauls were engaged

by Antigonus, brought him to an action: after which the mercenaries demanded their pay. But when Antigonus directed payment to be made to all, that bore arms, according to his agreement; the Gauls demanded pay for all that attended the army, whether they bore arms, or not, even women and children: alledging, that the agreement was to every Gaul a gold Macedonic. The ſum to be paid, if only every ſoldier received pay, would amount to thirty talents; but, if paid to all indiſcriminately, to a hundred. On Antigonus's refuſal to comply with their unreaſonable demands, they retired to their camp, vowing vengeance againſt the hoſtages. Fearing they might proceed to acts of cruelty, he ſent a deputation to them; informing them, that rather than they ſhould be diſſatisfied, he would comply with their demands: and directed them to ſend ſome they could confide in, to receive the money. Overjoyed at the compliance of Antigonus, and the proſpect of ſo great riches, ſome Gallic chiefs were diſpatched to ſettle the buſineſs, and receive the money: whom, as ſoon as they arrived at the Macedonian camp, Antigonus ſeiſed; and informed the Gauls, they ſhould never be given up till he had firſt received his own hoſtages. The Gauls found it in vain to contend, therefore gave up the Macedonians; and in return received their own chiefs, and thirty talents.

18. ANTIGONUS, determined to cruſh Apollodorus tyrant of the Caſſandrenſians, inveſted Caſſandria: but, after a ten month's blockade, was obliged to raiſe the ſiege. He then applied to the famous pirate Aminias; whom he found means to prevail on, to ſecond his deſigns. Aminias accordingly proceeded to cultivate the good opinion of Apollodorus; undertook to reconcile Antigonus to him, and to compromiſe the diſpute between them: as alſo to ſupply him with proviſions and wine. The tyrant, ſatisfied with the friendly profeſſions of Aminias, and preſuming on the abſence of Antigonus, became leſs ſtrict in his diſcipline and duty on the walls. Aminias in the mean time directed ladders to be

be privately conſtructed, as high as the walls: and at an advanced poſt, not far from them, called Bolus, he concealed two thouſand men; and with them ten Ætolian pirates under the command of Melotas. Theſe at day-break, obſerving the walls thinly guarded, crept ſecretly to the parapet between the towers; and, as ſoon as they had fixed the ladders, gave the ſignal. Aminias with the two thouſand men immediately advanced, mounted the ladders, and made themſelves maſters of the place. Antigonus, on notice of his ſucceſs, returned to Caſſandria, and diſpoſſeſſed the tyrant.

19. ANTIGONUS, being encamped oppoſite to the enemy who were commanded by Eumenes, and with an inferiour force, while frequent embaſſies paſſed between the two camps, directed that, as ſoon as the next embaſſy arrived, a ſoldier ſhould abruptly introduce himſelf, panting, and covered with duſt; and inform him, the allies were at hand. Antigonus, hearing this, jumped up in an affected tranſport of joy, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors. The next day he extended the front of his army twice its former length, and advanced beyond the trenches. The enemy appriſed by their ambaſſadors of the arrival of the allies, and obſerving the phalanx ſo much extended, which they ſuppoſed had a proportionable depth, did not dare to hazard an engagement, but made a precipitate retreat.

20. ANTIGONUS, in order to make himſelf maſter of Athens on as eaſy terms as poſſible, concluded a peace with the Athenians in the autumn. After which they ſowed their corn, and reſerved for their own uſe only as much of their old ſtock as would ſerve them till their next crop was reaped. But as ſoon as the corn was near ripe, Antigonus made an irruption into Attica. When, having nearly finiſhed the ſtock they had in their granaries, and finding themſelves prevented from reaping the crop then on the ground, they opened their gates to Antigonus, and complied with all his demands.

CHAP. VII.

DEMETRIUS.

DEMETRIUS, though much diſtreſſed for money, by new levies doubled his army. And when ſome of his friends in ſurpriſe aſked him, how he expected to pay them; difficult as he found it to ſupport a ſmaller force: the more powerful, replied he, we are, the weaker we ſhall find our enemies; and the more eaſily make ourſelves maſters of their country. From thence tributes, and free gifts will come in, that will ſoon fill our coffers.

2. AFTER Demetrius had determined on his European expedition; wiſhing to conceal from his men the place of their deſtination, unleſs any croſs accidents during their voyage ſhould make it neceſſary to diſcloſe it, he delivered to every maſter of a veſſel a tablet ſealed up; with inſtructions, ſo long as the fleet kept together, not to break the ſeal: but in caſe of a ſeparation, they were directed to open the tablet; and there they would find the place they were to endeavour to make.

3. IN purſuance of a plan Demetrius had formed to ſurpriſe Sicyon, he retired to Cenchreæ; and there gave himſelf up to luxury and pleaſures. This threw the Sicyonians off from their guard, who apprehended no danger from a quarter, where nothing ſeemed to prevail but effeminacy and diſſipation. Informed of the impreſſion his conduct had made on them, he iſſued his orders for the mercenaries under Diodorus on a certain night to attack the gates, that face Pallene; and the fleet at the ſame time to ſhew themſelves in the haven; while he advanced up to the walls with the main body of his army. The city, thus vigorouſly attacked in various quarters at once, yielded to the ſudden ſtorm, and opened her gates.

4. DEME-

4. DEMETRIUS, having ſailed on an expedition to Caria, left Diodorus captain of his guards in charge of Epheſus: which he engaged to betray to Lyſimachus for fifty talents. Of this compact Demetrius gained intelligence: when attended by a few ſmall veſſels he ſteered directly to Epheſus, ordering the reſt of the fleet to diſembark at the place of deſtination. When he approached Epheſus; in one of the ſmall veſſels with Nicanor he entered the Epheſian haven: and concealed himſelf in the body of the ſhip: while Nicanor ſent for Diodorus to come on board him, as if to receive ſome orders from him concerning the diſbanding of a part of his forces. Diodorus, ſuppoſing Nicanor to be alone, in a little wherry immediately attended him. But as ſoon as ever he reached the ſhip, Demetrius ſpringing from the place of his concealment, leaped into the boat, and overſet it, with the men on board; that were all taken up except Diodorus, who was left to periſh in the water. Thus was Epheſus ſecured in his poſſeſſion, the execution of the plot being timely prevented.

5. AFTER Demetrius had taken Ægina and Salamis in Attica, he ſent to the Piræenſians for arms for a thouſand men; jointly with him, to attack the tyrant Lachares. They readily entered into his views, and ſent the arms: with which he armed his troops, and then attacked thoſe who had furniſhed him with them.

6. DEMETRIUS made himſelf maſter of the Piræum by the following ſtratagem. Without employing his whole fleet againſt it, he fitted out ſome galleys, with inſtructions to conceal themſelves at Sunium. From thoſe he ſelected twenty, and ordered them not to ſteer directly to Athens; but to ſhape their courſe with all ſpeed, as if bound for Salamis. Demetrius Phalereus, the Athenian general, was in the intereſt of Caſſander: and from the tower obſerved thoſe ſhips; which he ſuppoſed to be the enemy, and to be ſteering to Corinth. But in the evening according to their private inſtructions, changing their courſe, they

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they ſailed directly to the Piræum, and made themſelves maſters of it. As ſoon as this was known, the whole fleet got under ſail, and the forces on board took poſſeſſion of the forts, as the fleet had done of the harbour. Liberty was then ordered to be proclaimed to the Athenians: enamoured of which they gladly received Demetrius as their friend and benefactor.

7. WITH a hundred and eighty ſhips Demetrius ſailed againſt Salamis in Cyprus, which was poſſeſſed and defended by Menelaus, a general of Ptolemy, who lay by with ſixty ſhips, in conſtant expectation of being joined by Ptolemy himſelf with a hundred and forty ſail more. Not thinking himſelf able to engage two hundred ſhips at once, Demetrius directed his courſe round a neck of land above Salamis; where he concealed himſelf, and debarking his land forces, planted an ambuſcade. Ptolemy ſoon after appeared; and, having fixed upon an open, level, and convenient part of the ſhore for landing, diſembarked his troops. The army of Demetrius immediately attacked them on the firſt confuſion of landing; and, almoſt as ſoon as they engaged, ſecured the victory. While Demetrius, unexpectedly bearing down upon his fleet, obliged Ptolemy to conſult his ſafety by flight: in which Menelaus, who had ſailed from Salamis to his aſſiſtance, was forced to attend him.

8. CORINTH being betrayed to Demetrius, he entered it in the night at the Coryphæan gate. But apprehenſive leſt an ambuſcade ſhould be formed againſt him by ſome party in the city, he advanced firſt againſt the Lechæan gate: where the army having ſet up a general ſhout, and drawn the attention of the Corinthians to that quarter; he wheeled round, and entered the Coryphæan gate, which was thrown open by the conſpirators. And while the Corinthians were engaged in the defence of a different quarter, Demetrius without danger made himſelf maſter of the city.

9. WHEN

9. When Demetrius and the Lacedæmonians were encamped againſt each other, Lycæum a mountain of Arcadia extending itſelf between the two camps: the Macedonians expreſſed ſome uneaſineſs at their ſituation, unacquainted as they were with the mountain. The north wind blowing full againſt the enemy, Demetrius reſolved to take advantage of it: and ſetting fire to the gate of his camp advanced to the attack. The ſparks and ſmoak, carried by a ſharp wind amongſt the Lacedæmonians, ſo incommoded them; that the Macedonians puſhing forwards obtained a compleat and eaſy victory.

10. The Spartans taking advantage of a narrow paſs, through which Demetrius in his retreat was obliged to march, fell upon his rear and ſeverely galled him. In the narroweſt part of the defile he heaped a number of carriages together, and ſet fire to them: which ſo effectually obſtructed the enemy's purſuit, till the carriages were all conſumed; that Demetrius, in the mean time purſuing his march with what expedition he could, made good his retreat.

11. Demetrius diſpatched a herald to the Bœotians, with a proclamation of war. The letter, which announced it, was delivered at Orchomenis to the Bœotian chiefs: and the next day Demetrius encamped at Chæronea. The proclamation of war, ſo cloſely followed by the approach of the enemy, awed the Bœotians to terms of ſubmiſſion.

12. Having the Lycus to paſs, a very rapid river, not fordable by the infantry, and only by ſuch of the horſe as were moſt able and ſtrong, Demetrius drew up his cavalry in three lines acroſs the river: by which the force of the waves was broken, and the foot by that means enabled to croſs it.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

EUMENES.

EUMENES, cloſely purſued by the Galatians, and at the ſame time ſo indiſpoſed in health, as to be carried on a litter, when he found it impracticable to eſcape their purſuit, and was near being overtaken, directed thoſe that carried his litter, to ſtop at a hill which he ſaw near the road, and there to place it. The Barbarians, who had cloſely purſued him, not ſuppoſing he would have halted, unleſs in dependance of a body of troops in reſerve he might have poſted there in ambuſh, gave up the purſuit.

2. INTIMATION had been given Eumenes, that the Argyraſpides were meditating innovations; the principals in which cabal were Antigenes and Teutamates: who behaved with rudeneſs to him, and ſeldom attended his pavilion. Having convened the generals, he told them a dream, which had twice occurred; and in which it was threatened, that on paying a proper regard to it their common ſafety depended. The dream was this, "Alexander the king ſate in his pavilion in the midſt of the camp, holding his ſceptre in his hand, and diſtributing juſtice: when he commanded his generals to tranſact no public buſineſs of any kind except in the royal pavilion; which he ordered to be called the pavilion of Alexander." The Macedonians, who adored the memory of Alexander, out of the royal treaſures erected a magnificent pavilion; in which was raiſed a golden throne, ornamented with the inſignia of royalty, and on it was placed a crown of gold with the royal diadem. Beſide the throne were arms, and in the midſt of them a ſceptre: before it a golden table, with frankincenſe on it and perfumes. There were alſo ſilver benches for the generals, that might attend in council

on

on public affairs. Next to Alexander's pavilion Eumenes pitched his own: and the other generals theirs in order. Eumenes, after all was compleated, received the generals not in his own, but Alexander's pavilion: and among the reſt Antigenes and Teutamates attended, in fact upon Eumenes; in appearance, to do honour to Alexander.

3. EUMENES, when in Perſia he was apprehenſive of his army by bribes and largeſſes being won over to the intereſts of Peuceſtes, and that there was a deſign of placing him on the throne, produced a letter in Syriac characters, as if written by Orontes a ſatrap of Armenia, to this purport: Olympias, with a ſon of Alexander, hath left Epire, and advanced into Macedonia; of which ſhe has by force poſſeſſed herſelf, having ſlain Caſſander, who had uſurped the throne. The Macedonians, hearing this, thought no more of Peuceſtes; but with infinite joy proclaimed the mother and ſon of Alexander his heirs to the throne.

4. ANTIGONUS having heard, that Eumenes when in Perſia had ſent his troops into winter quarters, immediately advanced againſt him: who, being informed by Peuceſtes of his march, directed his officers, with their children, in the night to take fire with them to the higheſt and moſt expoſed places, and there ride about at the diſtance of ſeventy furlongs. Then leaving a ſpace of about twenty furlongs, he ordered them to ſet a great quantity of wood on fire; making the outward fires very large, another range of fires leſs, and a third ſtill ſmaller, in imitation of a real camp. Antigonus's army from this appearance ſuſpecting that Eumenes had embodied his forces, ventured not to attack him; but filed off another way, on purpoſe to avoid the ſuppoſed ſuperiority of the enemy.

5. WHEN Eumenes found he could not by any arguments divert his ſoldiers from their intention of plundering the enemy's baggage; he contrived to furniſh the adverſary with private intelligence of their deſign:

in conſequence of which he placed a ſtronger guard upon it, which the ſoldiers of Eumenes obſerving, dropped their intention.

CHAP. IX.

SELEUCUS.

IN an engagement between Seleucus and Antigonus, the evening put an end to the undecided action; and both armies retreated to their reſpective camps, determined to renew the conflict the next day. The ſoldiers of Antigonus in the mean time put off their arms, and entertained themſelves in their tents. But Seleucus ordered his men to ſup, and ſleep in their arms, and lie down in order of battle: that they might be ready for action, whenever the charge was ſounded. At break of day the army of Seleucus roſe; and ready armed, and formed, immediately advanced againſt Antigonus: whoſe troops unarmed, and unformed, afforded an eaſy victory to the enemy.

2. SELEUCUS and Demetrius were encamped againſt each other: the former in high ſpirits, but the latter diffident of ſucceſs. Demetrius therefore determined to fall upon the enemy in the night: placing his hopes of victory on a vigorous attack. The army readily embraced his plan, and were ſanguine in their expectations of ſurpriſing Seleucus. At the time appointed they roſe, and armed: when two Ætolian youths, of Demetrius's army, applied to the advanced guard of Seleucus's camp, and demanded to be immediately introduced to the king. As ſoon as they had informed him of the preparations making in the enemy's camp for action, Seleucus, fearing leſt he ſhould be attacked before he was in a poſture of defence, ordered the trumpets immediately to ſound the charge. The whole camp was inſtantly in an alarm; each queſtioning the other about the ſuddenneſs of the order, and haſtily lighting his

his faggot. Demetrius, when he ſaw the troops ſtanding round the fires, and heard the trumpets ſound the charge, ſuppoſed them ready for battle, and therefore declined the intended attack.

3. SELEUCUS, learning that the ſoldiers of Demetrius were much diſpirited, ſelected a body of picked men from his guards; which with eight elephants he poſted in his front, in a narrow paſs, flanking the enemy; and, advancing before them, threw off his helmet, and called aloud: "How long will ye be ſo mad, as to follow the fortunes of a free-booter, who is almoſt famiſhed; when your merits will find their reward with a king, who reigns in affluence: and you will partake with him of a kingdom, not depending on hope, but in actual poſſeſſion." Influenced by this harangue, many threw aſide their ſwords and ſpears, and, clapping their hands, revolted to Seleucus.

4. WHEN the charge of the tower of Sardis, with the royal treaſures, was by Lyſimachus committed to Theodotus; which, ſuch was the ſtrength of its fortification, Seleucus deſpaired of carrying by ſtorm: he ordered proclamation to be made, that he would give an hundred talents to any one who would kill Theodotus. As the lure of ſuch a ſum might be ſuppoſed of weight to influence ſome or other of the ſoldiers, Theodotus became ſuſpicious and afraid of them; and for that reaſon ſeldom expoſed himſelf in public. The army on the other hand reſented his ſuſpicions of them. In this unpleaſant ſituation, one party alarmed by ſuſpicion, and the other warmed by reſentment, Theodotus determined to be beforehand with his troops; and therefore in the night himſelf opened the gates, introduced Seleucus, and delivered up to him the treaſures.

5. DEMETRIUS had encamped under mount Taurus; when Seleucus, apprehenſive leſt he ſhould ſecretly make his eſcape into Syria, detached Lyſias with a body of Macedonians to ſecure the paſs of the Amanidian mountains, through which he muſt be obliged to march;

and there to kindle a number of fires. By this judicious movement Demetrius ſaw his intended rout cut off, and his eſcape precluded.

6. SELEUCUS, after an unſucceſsful engagement with the Barbarians, fled towards Cilicia: and to conceal himſelf, in thoſe circumſtances, even from his own troops, attended only by a few friends, he paſſed for the armour-bearer of Amaction, general of the royal forces, and aſſumed his habit. But as ſoon as a number of horſe and foot, the ſhattered remains of his army, had ſhewn themſelves; he reaſſumed his royal robe, diſcovered himſelf to his army, and again put himſelf at their head.

CHAP. X.

PERDICCAS.

IN a war between the Illyrians and Macedonians, many of the Macedonians having been taken priſoners, and others acquitted themſelves very indifferently on dependance of being ranſomed in caſe they were taken, Perdiccas directed the deputation, that was ſent to treat for the ranſom of the priſoners, on their return to declare; that the Illyrians would receive no ranſom, but had determined to put the priſoners to death. All hopes of ranſom being thus precluded, the Macedonians in future fought with more reſolution; finding that their only hopes of ſafety were placed in victory.

2. PERDICCAS, in his war with the Chalcidenſians, when his coffers were very low, ſtruck a coin of braſs mixed with tin; with which he paid his army. The money, bearing the royal impreſſion, the ſutlers took as currency: and, as it bore no value beyond the king's dominions, he took it of them again in payment for corn and the product of the country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

CASSANDER.

CASSANDER, knowing Nicanor, governor of Munichia, to be ill-affected to him, artfully over-reached, and got rid of him. He pretended that he was under a neceſſity of paſſing over to Attica: when juſt as he was going to embark, an expreſs, according to his own inſtructions, arrived with pretended letters from his friends in Macedonia to this effect: that the Macedonians invited him to aſſume the throne, univerſally diſſatisfied as they were with the government of Polyſperchon. On reading thoſe letters, Caſſander appeared in high ſpirits; and embracing Nicanor, who attended him, he congratulated him as a friend on the participation of his own greatneſs: "And, now, 'ſays he,' other buſineſs requires our attention; the ſettling of an empire's concerns demands our common cares." Thus ſaying, he took him aſide to a neighbouring houſe; as if to confer in private with him on buſineſs of importance: when he was immediately ſeiſed by a party of guards, who had been previouſly poſted there for that purpoſe. Caſſander then convened an aſſembly of the people; and gave leave to any one, who had any thing to offer againſt Nicanor, to urge it. And while accuſations from different quarters were preferring againſt him; he ſecured Munichia. And Nicanor, who was convicted of many acts of injuſtice, was ſentenced to death.

2. At the ſame time that Caſſander had beſieged Salamis, he alſo engaged the Athenians by ſea, and defeated them. All the Salaminians, he had taken in the action with the Athenians, he liberated and ſent to Salamis without ranſom: which had that effect on the people, that, in

in conſequence of ſuch an act of favour and humanity, they voluntarily ſurrendered themſelves to Caſſander.

3. While Caſſander beſieged Pydna, a town in Macedonia, in which Olympias was ſhut up; Polyſperchon diſpatched a ſloop with orders to land cloſe by the town in the night: of which he by letter appriſed Olympias, and deſired her to embark on board it. The courier was intercepted, and carried before Caſſander; to whom he confeſſed his errand. As ſoon as he had read the letter, he cloſed it and again affixed on it Polyſpherchon's ſeal; directing the courier to deliver the letter, but not to inform her that he had ſeen it. The letter was accordingly delivered: and Caſſander took care to intercept the ſloop. Olympias, agreeably to the purport of the letter, came out of the city in the night, in expectation of finding the veſſel at the place appointed: when piqued at her diſappointment, and thinking herſelf deceived by Polyſperchon, ſhe ſurrendered both herſelf and the city to Caſſander.

4. When Caſſander returned from Illyrium, at the diſtance of a day's march from Epidamnum, he planted in ambuſh a body of horſe and foot; and after that ſet on fire the villages on the moſt expoſed ſituations in the extremity of the territories of Illyris and Atintanis. Suppoſing Caſſander had entirely evacuated the country, the Illyrians ventured out of the city, and went abroad to different parts, as their different buſineſs required their attention. The ambuſcade, then ſallying out, took priſoners not leſs than a thouſand men; and, the gates of the city being thrown open, Caſſander made himſelf maſter of Epidamnum.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

LYSIMACHUS.

LYSIMACHUS apprehenſive leſt the Autariatæ, who had been plundered of their baggage in an engagement with Demetrius, barbarians as they were, and ſtripped of their property, ſhould meditate a mutiny or revolt, ſummoned them without the trenches, on pretence of receiving a donation of corn: and on a ſignal given, ordered every man to be cut to pieces. Their number amounted to ſix hundred.

2. AFTER Lyſimachus had taken Amphipolis by the treachery of Andragathus, he loaded him with preſents, and promiſed him ſtill greater, if he would attend him into Aſia. But as ſoon as they arrived at the ſtraits of Thrace, he not only ſtripped him of all he poſſeſſed; but, after expoſing him to the torture, put him to death.

3. LYSIMACHUS, conducted Ariſton, ſon of Autoleon to his father's kingdom in Pæonia: under pretence that the royal youth might be acknowledged by his ſubjects, and treated with due reſpect. But as ſoon as he had bathed in the royal bath in the river Ariſbus, and they had ſet before him an elegant repaſt, according to the cuſtom of his country; Lyſimachus ordered his guards to arm: upon which, Ariſton, inſtantly mounting his horſe, eſcaped to Sardis; and left Lyſimachus in poſſeſſion of Pæonia.

* A man, civilized to every great and good purpoſe of humanity, feels with indignation the diſtinction of barbariſm applied to every nation but his own by ſuch a monſter of cruelty and treachery, as Lyſimachus.

CHAP. XIII.

CRATERUS.

THE Tyrians having with advantage attacked the Macedonians, while employed on their works, Craterus ordered a retreat. But after the Tyrians, who had continued eagerly to purſue them, had conſiderably fatigued themſelves; he gave the ſignal to face about, and charge. The colour of the action was immediately changed: they who had purſued, now began to fly; and the fugitives became the purſuers.

CHAP. XIV.

POLYSPERCHON.

POLYSPERCHON, to ſpirit up his men againſt the Peloponneſians, who were in poſſeſſion of a paſs between the mountains, put on an Arcadian cap, and double veſt; and taking a ſtaff in his hand, "Such, 'ſays he,' are the men, againſt whom we are now engaged." Then, throwing his Arcadian dreſs aſide, and taking up his own arms, "and ſuch, 'added he,' my fellow ſoldiers, are the men, who engage them; men, who in great and various battles have won glorious victories." This ſhort harangue ſo animated his troops, that they unanimouſly requeſted him to lead them inſtantly to the charge.

CHAP. XV.

ANTIOCHUS, SON OF SELEUCUS.

DINON, a general of Ptolemy, with a ſtrong garriſon ſo ably defended Damaſcus againſt Antiochus; that he deſpaired of carrying it by a regular ſiege, and had therefore recourſe to ſtratagem. He directed his army, and the whole country round, to celebrate a Perſian feſtival with the utmoſt profuſion of luxury: and ordered all perſons of conſequence, to contribute their ſhares to ſupply it. While Antiochus, and his army were thus engaged, Dinon hearing of the voluptuous celebrity remitted a little of his attention to his charge. Of this Antiochus was no ſooner appriſed, than he ordered his troops to take four days proviſion of raw flour, and marching them through a deſart, by rough and unfrequented ways, arrived before Damaſcus, when the citizens ſuppoſed he was revelling in his camp; and by a vigorous attack ſurpriſed, and took it.

CHAP. XVI.

ANTIOCHUS, SON OF ANTIOCHUS.

WHEN Antiochus beſieged Cypſela a city in Thrace, he had in his army many Thracians of good rank and family; who were commanded by Tiris and Dromichætes. To thoſe he gave gold chains, and arms ſtudded with ſilver; ornamented with which they marched out to battle. The Cypſelians, ſeeing their friends and acquaintance ſo richly equipped, concluded they had taken the beſt ſide: threw down their arms, and revolted to Antiochus; inſtead of enemies becoming allies.

CHAP. XVII.

ANTIOCHUS HIERAX.

ANTIOCHUS, having revolted from his brother Seleucus, made his eſcape into Meſopotamia: and in his march over the Armenian mountains was joined by Arſabes. The two generals of Seleucus, Achæus and Andromachus, in great force purſued him; and an obſtinate battle was fought: in which Antiochus was wounded, and fled to the upper parts of the mountain, leaving the main body of the army to encamp on the ſides of it. He then directed a report of his death to be propagated, and ordered the army in the night to advance to the heights of the mountain. The next day the army of Antiochus ſent ambaſſadors, Philetærus the Cretan and Dionyſius of Lyſimachia, to demand the body of Antiochus in order to bury it; and on condition of receiving it, to engage to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Andromachus agreed to the conditions; informed them the body of Antiochus was not then found; and propoſed to ſend an eſcort for the priſoners and arms. A detachment of four thouſand men was accordingly diſpatched, not prepared for action, but as a deputation to receive the priſoners. As ſoon as they advanced to the ſides of the mountains, thoſe who were poſted on the heights vigorouſly attacked, and made great havock among them. While Antiochus, appearing in his royal robes, preſented himſelf to them, both alive, and victorious.

CHAP. XVIII.

PHILIP, SON OF DEMETRIUS.

WHEN Philip beſieged Prinaſſus, a Rhodian city, in Peræa*: he found the walls ſo exceedingly ſtrong, that he ſaw no other way to ſucceed againſt it, than by undermining them. But when the pioneers begun to dig, they found nothing but a hard rock; which ſo blunted their tools, that they could make no advance in the undertaking. To conceal from the enemy the difficulties he had to encounter, he contrived a kind of awning to cover the workmen: notwithſtanding all which, they plainly perceived the little progreſs he was able to make. He therefore directed the ſoldiers to bring in the night a quantity of earth from eight or ten furlongs diſtance, and lay it at the mouth of their mine. The garriſon from the walls ſeeing the quantity of earth, thrown up at the mouth of the mine, every day ſo greatly increaſing, concluded the walls muſt be undermined: and thus intimidated ſurrendered the city to Philip. He then diſcovered to them the ſtratagem he had practiſed; and left them to lament their credulity.

2. PHILIP ſon of Demetrius, when engaged in a war with Attalus and the Rhodians, finding himſelf inferiour to the enemy, conſidered how to effect a ſecure retreat by ſea. He ſent an Ægyptian revolter, to give intelligence to the enemy, that he was making preparations for a naval engagement, intending next day to have his fleet ready for action. And in the night he kindled a number of fires, to induce them to think the army remained in camp. Attalus, according to this

* Peræa was a country on that part of the continent, which lies directly oppoſite to Rhodes.

intelligence, made preparations alſo on his ſide to receive him. And to ſtrengthen his fleet he drew off the guards that were poſted at the place of Philip's intended embarkation: which gave him an opportunity of embarking his army, and he thereby effected his eſcape.

CHAP. XIX.

PTOLEMY.

WHEN Perdiccas had marched down to the river Memphis, with intention to croſs it; Ptolemy tied his baggage to a number of goats, ſwine, and oxen, and left the herdſmen with ſome of his horſe to drive them. The baggage thus dragged along the ground by thoſe animals raiſed a prodigious duſt; and exhibited in appearance the march of a numerous army. With the reſt of his cavalry Ptolemy purſued the enemy, and came up with them as they were croſſing the river, part having already paſſed it: who, from the duſt, ſuſpecting a numerous army in their rear, ſome fled, others periſhed in the river, and a great number were taken priſoners.

CHAP. XX.

ATTALUS.

ATTALUS, previous to an engagement with the Gauls, to whom he was very inferiour in force, to animate his men againſt the ſuperiority of the enemy, offered a ſacrifice; Sudinus a Chaldæan prieſt performing the ceremony. Upon his hand, in the black juice of the oak apple, the king inſcribed, "The king's victory," in inverted letters, not from the left to the right, but from the right to the left. And when he embowelled

bowelled the victim, he placed his hand under a warm and ſpungy part; which took from it the impreſſion. The prieſt then turning over the reſt of the parts, the gall, the lungs, and the ſtomach, and obſerving the omens to be drawn from them, turned to the part which contained the inſcription of the king's victory: which exulting with joy he ſhewed to all the ſoldiers. This they eagerly read; and aſſuming confidence, as if Heaven had aſſured them of victory, unanimouſly requeſted to be immediately led againſt the barbarians: whom they charged with extraordinary vigour; and obtained the victory they had been taught to expect.*

CHAP. XXI.

PERSEUS, SON OF PHILIP.

PERSEUS in his wars with the Romans, who made uſe of elephants in their army, which they procured partly from Lybia, and partly from Antiochus king of Syria, to accuſtom his horſes to the formidable appearance of thoſe animals, directed ſome elephants to be made in wood; in ſize and colour as nearly as poſſible reſembling the real ones. And to imitate the terrible noiſe the beaſt ſometimes made, he ordered a trumpeter to enter his body, and directing his trumpet through his mouth to ſound the loudeſt, harſheſt notes he was able. And by thismea ns the Macedonian horſes were trained to bear the noiſe and ſight of the elephants without emotion.

* A ſimilar ſtratagem Frontinus has aſcribed to Alexander: and this, which Polyænus hath aſcribed to Attalus, Frontinus has given to Eumenes.

BOOK V.

THE PREFATORY ADDRESS.

THIS Fifth Book of Stratagems I offer to your moſt ſacred majeſties, Antoninus and Verus. Nor do I myſelf aſſume ſo much praiſe in compoſing this work, as I attribute to you in the diligent attention you have been pleaſed to employ upon it: conſidering the high dignity with which you are inveſted; and the critical time, when you are ſo particularly engaged both in concerns of peace and war. But indeed generals cannot form themſelves to victory by ſurer means, than by ſtudying the arts by which antient generals obtained it. To princes engaged in war treatiſes on warlike operations cannot be uſeleſs. Eloquence is learned by ſtudying the works of celebrated orators: and, by obſerving the conduct of illuſtrious generals, chieftains are taught, in various ſimilar inſtances that may occur, to form their own. And ſo far theſe ſtratagems I truſt may be of ſervice; as they will place before your eyes the beſt models of imitation in the field of military fame.

CHAP. I.

PHALARIS.

THE people of Agrigentum having determined to build a temple to Jupiter the governor within the caſtle, both becauſe the ground there was the firmeſt and hardeſt, and therefore the moſt proper for the foundation; and alſo becauſe the ſite was the moſt elevated, and as ſuch

ſuch propereſt for the temple of the Deity. Phalaris undertook to ſuperintend the work; and at a fixed ſum engaged to finiſh it, employing the ableſt workmen, and ſupplying the beſt materials. The people from his occupation, which was that of a publican*, ſuppoſing him a proper perſon for conducting the work, accordingly contracted with him for it; and paid into his hands the money. With this he hires a number of ſtrangers, farms the priſoners, and buys a quantity of ſtones, timber, and iron. As ſoon as he had laid the foundation, he pretends his materials had been ſtolen; and directs proclamation to be made, that whoever would diſcover thoſe, who had ſtolen the ſtones and iron from the caſtle, ſhould receive a ſum of money in reward. The people expreſſed great indignation at the theft; and gave him the leave which he requeſted, in future to prevent ſuch larcenies, to fortify the caſtle, and throw a trench round it. He then ſtruck off the priſoners' irons, and armed them with battle-axes, hatchets, and ſtones; and, while the citizens were intent on celebrating the feaſt of Ceres, ſuddenly fell upon them, ſlew many of the men, made himſelf maſter of the perſons of the women and children, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of Agrigentum.

2. PHALARIS, having formed a deſign to diſarm the Agrigentines, pretended to entertain them with ſome very magnificent games without the city. As ſoon as a great concourſe of the citizens had gone out of the city to attend them, the gates were ſhut, and the guards according to his orders ſearched every houſe, and carried off whatever arms they found.

3. THE Agrigentines being engaged in a war with the Sicanians, when Phalaris, who lay before their city, found he could not reduce it,

* The τελωναι, or publicans, were thoſe that received the fines due for the celebration of publick worſhip. They were at Athens ten in number; and choſen out of the πεντακοσιομεδιμνοι.

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he entered with them into a treaty of peace. And having in his camp a great ſtore of corn, he agreed to leave it to them; on condition of receiving from them an equal quantity after their harveſt. With thoſe terms the Sicanians readily complied, and received the ſtores. Phalaris then contrived to bribe the intendants of the granaries, in ſome places ſecretly to unroof them; through which the rain was introduced, and rotted the corn. As ſoon as the harveſt was over, Phalaris according to compact received his quantity of new corn: and the old turning out rotten, the Sicanians were reduced by diſtreſs, after having given up to him their ſubſiſtence, to ſurrender their liberties too.

4. PHALARIS diſpatched an embaſſy to Teutus, the chief of Veſſa, which was eſteemed one of the moſt flouriſhing and powerful cities in Sicania, to ſolicit his daughter in marriage. Teutus accordingly gave his conſent; when Phalaris ſent a number of ſoldiers in chariots, without beards, and in women's dreſſes, as ſervants charged with preſents to the bride. But as ſoon as they were introduced into the houſe, they drew their ſwords, and ſecured all within: and Phalaris, immediately after arriving, made himſelf maſter of Veſſa.

CHAP. II.

DIONYSIUS.

THE mercenaries having attacked the houſe of Dionyſius, tyrant of Sicily, and forced their way into it with a determination to murder him; he came out to them in a mean dreſs, and with duſt on his head: and told the ſoldiers, he gave himſelf up to them, to treat him as they pleaſed. His appearance ſo altered, and humiliated, changed their reſolutions: and they left him ſafe, and uninjured. Theſe very men

Dionyſius not long after ſurrounded with his troops in Leontium, and cut every one of them to pieces.

2. DIONYSIUS, ſon of Hermocrates, was in the ſervice of the Syracuſans, and acted as ſecretary to their generals: of whoſe conduct in the courſe of an unſucceſsful war with the Carthaginians the Syracuſans complained, and Dionyſius ventured ſo far as to accuſe them of treachery. Some in conſequence of his accuſation were executed, and others baniſhed: when pretending that he was in danger from the cabals of their partiſans, and their reſentment for the active part he had taken againſt thoſe who had been already convicted, the Carthaginian war ſtill continuing, he obtained of the people a guard for his perſon. By means of that he poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of Syracuſe, and became the greateſt tyrant the Syracuſans ever knew: and, dying at an advanced age, he left the ſovereignty to his ſon.

3. DIONYSIUS always with particular caution adverted to conſpiracies; and having been informed that a foreigner then in the city had given out that he was poſſeſſed of an infallible ſecret for diſcovering conſpiracies and treaſon, he ordered him to be ſent for. As ſoon as he came to the caſtle, he deſired all preſent might withdraw: for he would not make the ſecret common, but was ready to diſcover it to Dionyſius alone. When the company were accordingly withdrawn, "Only, 'ſaid he,' profeſs as I have done, that you are poſſeſſed of the ſecret I pretend to diſcover; and no one will venture to enter into any conſpiracies againſt you." Dionyſius, pleaſed with the device, liberally rewarded the man; and told his guards, the man had diſcovered to him the moſt aſtoniſhing means of detecting conſpirators: which ſo intimidated them, that they never in future ventured to form any deſigns againſt him.

4. DIONYSIUS, having engaged in a foreign expedition, committed the charge of the caſtle and the treaſury to Andron: of both which, in the abſence of Dionyſius, Hermocrates adviſed him to poſſeſs himſelf.

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Dionyſius, who within a few days returned from his expedition, without having heard any thing of any ſuch propoſition, but ever ſuſpicious as tyranny always is, told Andron he had been informed of a propoſal that had been made to him to betray his truſt; the particulars of which he wiſhed to hear from himſelf. Andron gave credit to what he ſaid; and confeſſed every circumſtance of the fact. After which Dionyſius ordered him to be executed, for not having diſcovered the propoſal, that had been made to him, immediately on his return: and Hermocrates, who had married his ſiſter, he confined in priſon; but, to oblige her, afterwards baniſhed him into Peloponneſus.

5. Dionysius, having gained over a party in Naxos to betray the city to him, late in the evening attended with ſeven ſoldiers advanced to the walls. The conſpirators from the towers propoſed to him, to attack it with all his force. But he, wiſhing to make himſelf maſter of it without any loſs, ſummoned the garriſon on the walls to ſurrender: threatening, in caſe of their refuſal to put every man to the ſword. One of his ſloops at the ſame time by his order entered the port of Naxus, with trumpets on board, and boatſwains, who appriſed the Naxians of their ſituation; informing them, they all belonged to ſeparate ſhips, which they would ſoon ſee in their harbour. The terrour of ſo great a naval force, and the threats of Dionyſius, prevailed on the Naxians to ſurrender their city, without occaſioning him to ſtrike a blow.

6. Hymilcon having blocked up the harbour of the Motyæans, Dionyſius drew his forces out of the town, and encamped on the ſhore oppoſite to the enemy, who ſtretched along the mouth of the harbour. He bade his men take courage, and both ſoldiers and ſailors exert themſelves, in running the ſhips aſhore: which to the number of eighty he in one day drew out upon a flat muddy piece of land, about twenty furlongs wide, that lay under the promontory which formed a ſide of the harbour: and planted the ground with wooden piles. Hymilcon, afraid leſt Di-

onyſius, having thus ſecured his own ſhips, ſhould take an opportunity of attacking him in rear, and ſhutting him up in the harbour, with the firſt fair wind withdrew his fleet: and left Dionyſius in poſſeſſion of the harbour, his ſhips in ſafety, and the town in peace.

7. Dionysius, being in poſſeſſion of the tower, held out againſt the forces of Dion; and ſent an embaſſy to the Syracuſans with propoſals of peace: who, as a preliminary to any ſuch negotiation, inſiſted on his abdication of the ſovereignty: with which if he complied, they were ready to treat with him; if not, they were determined upon an unremitting war. Dionyſius again diſpatched a herald, requiring them to ſend ambaſſadors; into whoſe hands he would reſign the ſovereignty, and conclude with them a peace. Ambaſſadors were accordingly ſent; and the citizens reſigned themſelves up to intemperate joy on the recovery of their liberty: and became leſs attentive to their defence. Dionyſius in the mean time detained the ambaſſadors, and drawing out his forces advanced againſt the walls, which he forced by a vigorous attack, recovered the city, and retained poſſeſſion of the caſtle.

8. The next day Dionyſius ſet at liberty the Syracuſan ambaſſadors, that he had detained: who were followed by women, charged with letters to Dion and Megacles from the ſiſter of the one, and the wife of the other, as well as to other Syracuſans, whoſe wives had been confined during the ſiege. Theſe letters were produced before an aſſembly of the people, and read: the general purport of which was, an earneſt requeſt to their huſbands and relations, not to ſuffer them to languiſh in the hands of Dionyſius. The addreſs of one particular letter was, "Hipparion (which was the name of Dion's ſon) to his father." But when the ſecretary opened the letter, and read it: inſtead of a letter from a ſon to his father, it appeared to be a familiar letter from Dionyſius to Dion; written in the moſt friendly terms, and by great promiſes ſoliciting him to his intereſts. This letter rendered Dion ever afterwards

afterwards ſuſpected by the Syracuſans, and entirely deprived him of his conſequence in the ſtate: the object, Dionyſius had moſt in view, to accompliſh.

9. THE Carthaginians having invaded the Syracuſan territories with an army of thirty thouſand men, Dionyſius, who had taken care to erect various forts and caſtles in different parts, ſent ambaſſadors to conclude a peace with them; on condition of delivering up to them all their forts and caſtles. The terms were readily accepted by the Carthaginians; who were very well ſatisfied with receiving poſſeſſion of their forts, without the hazard of a battle, and left conſiderable garriſons in each of them. The main army, materially reduced by thoſe detachments, which were diſperſed in different parts, Dionyſius afterwards attacked with ſucceſs, and entirely routed.

10. DIONYSIUS, having formed a deſign to reduce Himera, entered into an alliance with the Himerenſians. He then made war upon ſome of the neigbouring cities; and encamped near Himera: whither, the people being in alliance with him, he was frequently ſending deputations: and his army was for ſome time ſupplied by the Himerenſians with proviſions. But ſo great an army ſtill continuing in their vicinity, without attempting any thing of conſequence, raiſed in the Hymerenſians a ſuſpicion of ſome concealed deſigns: and they refuſed to ſupply him in the ſame liberal manner they had done before. Dionyſius therefore made his neceſſities a pretence of breaking with the Himerenſians; advanced with all his forces againſt the city, and took it by ſtorm.

11. DIONYSIUS formed a deſign to abridge the old ſoldiers of their pay: at which the young ones expreſſed their indignation, as an act of extreme cruelty; to ſtarve thoſe in their old age, who had ſpent their youth in the ſervice of their country. Finding the oppoſition his deſign was likely to meet with, he convened an aſſembly, and thus addreſſed them. "The juniors I expect to ſuſtain the ſhock of battle: with

with the ſeniors I mean to garriſon my forts: and to both I intend equal pay. For they, whoſe fidelity has been tried, are the proper perſons to be entruſted with the charge of the fortifications: and the ſervice is attended with leſs fatigue." All were pleaſed with the regulations; and departed in good humour. But as ſoon as the troops were diſperſed, and diſpoſed of in different ſtations and garriſons, he ſtruck off the veterans from their pay, who had now no longer the body of the army to ſupport them.

12. DIONYSIUS, in an expedition he had undertaken, had a mind to try the fidelity of his naval captains. The object of his expedition he wiſhed to keep ſecret, and therefore mentioned to none of them; giving to every captain a tablet ſealed up, but an entire blank within: and ordered them, as ſoon as they were under ſail, on a certain ſignal given, to open their tablets; and ſteer their courſe according to the directions, they ſhould find within. As ſoon as they were under ſail, he himſelf in a ſwift-ſailing veſſel, before the ſignal was given, run round the fleet, and of every captain demanded his tablet. Thoſe, who had broken their ſeals, he ordered to be executed for breach of orders: to the reſt he gave tablets, in which the real name of the city, that was the object of the expedition, was written. And by this means the expedition being kept ſecret ſucceeded; he attacked Amphipolis, of which unprepared to receive an enemy, and ungarriſoned, he eaſily made himſelf maſter.

13. To diſcover the opinion his ſubjects entertained of him, and know who were his enemies, Dionyſius ordered the names to be given in to him of ſeveral muſick girls and proſtitutes: who, inſtead of receiving preſents from him, as they expected, were by the torture made to confeſs, what were the ſentiments they had heard their lovers expreſs of the tyranny. Thus having informed himſelf of all, who were averſe to his government; ſome of them he executed, and baniſhed others.

14. AFTER

14. AFTER Dionyſius had diſarmed the citizens; whenever he had occaſion to take the field againſt an enemy, he marched a hundred furlongs from the city, and then delivered every man his arms. And when the war was terminated, before they entered the city, and the gates were thrown open, they were ordered to ground their arms: which were carried away, and depoſited in the tower; on pretence of being taken care of, and kept in order.

15. ANOTHER ſtratagem Dionyſius employed, to diſcover thoſe who were averſe to his government, was the following. He privately ſet ſail for Italy, and ordered a report to be ſpread, that he had been killed by his own ſoldiers. They, who were inimical to the tyranny, joyfully ran together; congratulating each other on the happy event. Who thoſe were, as ſoon as he had been informed by his emiſſaries; he ordered them to be apprehended, and put to death.

16. AT another time Dionyſius pretended illneſs; and ordered a report to be propagated, that he was at the point of death. While many were expreſſing their joy on the occaſion, the tyrant appeared in public with his guards; and ordered all to execution, who had been exulting at the fatal event.

17. DIONYSIUS obliged the Carthaginians to pay for their priſoners a very high ranſom: but the Grecian priſoners, that were in the ſervice of Carthage, he diſcharged without any ranſom at all. This partiality of the tyrant rendered the Greeks ſuſpected by the Carthaginians; who diſcharged all the Greek mercenaries from their ſervice. This rid Dionyſius of ſo formidable an enemy as the Greeks.

18. DIONYSIUS, in the war with the Meſſenians, in order to encourage a ſuſpicion that prevailed of his having a party among them in his intereſt, when he ravaged the country, ordered his men ſcrupulouſly to avoid offering any injury to the eſtates of particular perſons.

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This is a ſtratagem I remember to have been practiſed by other generals. But Dionyſius carried it farther: in pretended ſecreſy, he diſpatched a ſoldier into the city, with a talent of gold for the ſuſpected perſons. The Meſſenians ſeiſed the meſſenger, with the gold upon him; and being informed by him for whoſe uſe the preſent was intended, the perſons ſo rendered ſuſpected were ordered to be tried for treaſon: who notwithſtanding, being men of conſequence, had a powerful party in their favour, and eſcaped the tyrant's ſnare. Factions however were thus promoted: and by means of them Dionyſius became maſter of Meſſena.

19. His treaſury being low, Dionyſius impoſed a tax on the people; to which, having been frequently charged with it, they did not very chearfully ſubmit: and he on the other hand did not think it adviſeable to compel the payment of it. A few days after, he ordered the civil officers to take all the offerings from the temple of Aſclepius (and there were many both of ſilver and gold), to carry them to the forum, and there expoſe them to ſale. The Syracuſans with great avidity purchaſed them at high prices; and a very conſiderable ſum of money was raiſed: of which as ſoon as Dionyſius had poſſeſſed himſelf, he paſſed an edict, that whoever had ſacrilegiouſly bought any of the offerings at the temple of Aſclepius, ſhould on pain of death immediately replace them in the temple, and reſtore them to the god. The edict was accordingly obeyed: theofferings were reſtored to the god: and Dionyſius kept the money.

20. Dionysius having taken a city, part of the inhabitants of which had fallen in the ſiege, and part he had baniſhed, left a ſmall garriſon in it. But the town being a large one, and not tenable with ſo few as he had been able to ſpare; he married the captive ſlaves to the daughters of their maſters: thereby not only ſtrengthening the garriſon;

riſon; but from the natural abhorrence of each other, that muſt ſubſiſt between them and their maſters, ſecuring to himſelf the fidelity of the people.

21. DIONYSIUS, having embarked for Tyrrhenia with a hundred veſſels, and tranſports, touched at the temple of Leucotheæ; where he received five hundred talents, and then purſued his voyage. But being informed that the ſoldiers and ſailors had ſtolen a thouſand talents of gold, and many more of ſilver; before he diſembarked, he ordered proclamation to be made, that every one ſhould carry to him half of what he had got, and keep the other half himſelf: and in failure of compliance with his orders he threatened immediate death. After he had from each thus exacted a half of the plunder they had acquired, the other half he extorted from them; and gave them inſtead of it a month's ſubſiſtence of corn.

22. MANY of the Parians embraced the Pythagorean philoſophy; and diſperſed themſelves in different parts of Italy. And when Dionyſius, tyrant of Sicily, ſent ambaſſadors to the Metapontians and other Italian ſtates, to propoſe conditions of peace; Euephenus adviſed the youths, who ſtudied under him, and their fathers, to pay no credit to the tyrant's profeſſions. Dionyſius being informed of the conduct of Euephenus, determined, if he could get the philoſopher into his power, to tranſport him from Metapontium to Rhegium. It afterward happened, that he fell into his hands: and Dionyſius directed a regular proſecution of him for the great injuries he had done him. To the accuſations urged againſt him Euephenus replied, that he had acted conſcientiouſly and juſtly. "Thoſe, 'ſays he,' whom I adviſed, were my friends and acquaintance: but the tyrant, againſt whom I adviſed them, I know not even by ſight." He was however adjudged to die. Undaunted at his ſentence, he addreſſed Dionyſius; and told him, "He acquieſced in the decree, but had a ſiſter in Parium unmarried, whom he wiſhed to diſpoſe of before he

 died:

died: therefore he requeſted leave to reviſit his country; aſſuring him, he would in a ſhort time return, and meet his ſentence." While every body laughed at the apparent folly of the man: Dionyſius, ſtruck with the firmneſs of his demeanour, aſked him; who would be bail for his return. "I will find, 'replied he,' a bail; who will anſwer for it with his life:" and immediately called Eucritus; who readily engaged, at the riſk of his life, to anſwer for his friend's appearance. Six months were allowed Euephenus for the tranſaction of his buſineſs at Parium: for which place he immediately ſet out, while Eucritus in his abſence remained a priſoner at Rhegium. The fact was extraordinary: but the concluſion of it ſtill more ſo. For after the expiration of the ſix months, Euephenus, having ſettled his ſiſter, returned to Sicily; ſurrendered himſelf up to his ſentence, and deſired his bail might be diſcharged. Dionyſius in admiration of the virtue, they had both diſplayed, forgave Euephenus, and diſcharged Eucritus from confinement. And taking them both by their hands, he requeſted them to admit him as a third into their friendſhip; and to continue with him, and partake of his fortunes. They acknowledged the tyrant's kindneſs; but requeſted him, if he gave them their life, to permit them to return to their former manner of enjoying it, and the proſecution of their beloved ſtudies. By this act of generoſity Dionyſius gained over many Italian ſtates to his confidence.

CHAP. III.

AGATHOCLES.

AGATHOCLES, having broken the oath he pledged to his enemies, and ſlain his priſoners, told his friends with a laugh, "After ſupper we will caſt up our oaths."

2. AFTER Agathocles had defeated the Leontines, he ſent their general

neral Dinocrates to Leontium; to inform his countrymen, that it was his intention, in the preſervation of his priſoners, to rival the glory of Dionyſius, who after the battle at the river Eleporus preſerved the lives of all the priſoners he had taken. The Leontines in confidence of his promiſe ſent him magnificent preſents. Agathocles then ordered all the priſoners to meet him unarmed. When the general, as directed, bade every man, who thought as Agathocles did, hold up his hand. "My thoughts, 'ſaid Agathocles,' are to ſlay every man of you:" the number of whom was ten thouſand. The ſoldiers, who ſurrounded them, according to the tyrant's orders immediately cut them to pieces.

3. AGATHOCLES having received information, that ſome of the Syracuſan chiefs had it in contemplation to attempt innovations, offered a ſolemn ſacrifice to the gods for a victory he had gained over the Carthaginians. And invited to the entertainment, he made on the occaſion, five hundred perſons, whom he ſuppoſed moſt inimical to his government. The entertainment was moſt ſumptuous and magnificent. And after the company had all drank pretty freely, he himſelf in a ſcarlet robe in the Tarentine faſhion thrown looſely round him advanced into the midſt of them, and ſung, and played on the harp, and danced; while mirth and revelry prevailed around. When all were in the height of enjoyment, Agathocles withdrew himſelf, as being tired, and wanting to change his dreſs. A number of armed men immediately ruſhed in, and falling upon the company with their drawn ſwords, ſuffered not an individual to eſcape.

4. WHEN Ophelas, the Cyrenian, with a numerous army was advancing againſt Agathocles: hearing the Cyrenian was notoriouſly addicted to the love of boys, he ſent an embaſſy to him, and his ſon Heraclides as a hoſtage, a boy of extraordinary beauty: ordering him to hold out for a few days againſt his ſolicitations. The Cyrenian, charmed with the beauty of the boy, conceived a violent paſſion for him, and

ſtrongly ſolicited him to comply with his deſires. Thus engaged, Agathocles ſuddenly attacked, and ſlew him; and entirely defeated his army. His ſon alſo he received ſafe, and without any injury having been offered to him.

5. AGATHOCLES having embarked in an expedition againſt Carthage, to try the reſolution of his men before he ſailed, ordered proclamation to be made; that whoever wiſhed to be excuſed from the expedition, might go on ſhore, and take with him whatever property he had on board. As many as took advantage of the proclamation, he ordered to execution, as traitors and cowards: and extolling thoſe who ſtaid on board, for their courage and attachment to him, he directed his courſe with ſixty ſhips to Libya. And as ſoon as he had diſembarked his troops, he ſet fire to his ſhipping; that his men might fight with the greater reſolution, when they ſaw themſelves deprived of every reſource which the ſhips might have afforded them in their flight. By theſe ſtratagems Agathocles in various battles defeated the Carthaginians; and made himſelf maſter of many cities in Libya.

6. AGATHOCLES deſired the Syracuſans to furniſh him with two thouſand men, intending an expedition into Phœnicia; where, he informed them, he was invited by a party in his intereſts, who had engaged to put him in poſſeſſion of the country. The Syracuſans gave credit to his aſſertions; and ſent him the ſupplies he required: which as ſoon as he had received, he thought no more of his Phœnician expedition; but employed his forces againſt his allies, and demoliſhed the fortifications of Tauromenia.

7. AGATHOCLES concluded a peace with Amilcar; who drew off his forces, and returned into Libya. When convening an aſſembly of the Syracuſans, "This is the hour, 'ſaid he,' that I have ever wiſhed for; when I might ſee my fellow citizens in full fruition of their liberty." Having thus ſaid, he took off his robe and ſword, and declared

clared himſelf a private man. Struck with ſuch an inſtance of patriotiſm and moderation, the Syracuſans voluntarily committed to him the government of the ſtate: who in leſs than ſix days, having put many of the citizens to death, and driven more than five thouſand into exile, poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of Syracuſe.

8. AGATHOCLES having received intelligence, that Tiſarchus, Anthropinus, and Diocles had formed deſigns againſt him, ſent for them; and inveſted them with the command of a conſiderable force, with which he directed them to relieve a city, then in alliance with Syracuſe, and cloſely beſieged. "To-morrow, 'ſaid he,' I will meet you at Timoleontium with horſes, arms, and baggage, and forward the expedition." They received his commands with rapture; hoping to have forces put into their hands, which they meaned to have employed againſt him. The next day, when they met at Timoleontium, Agathocles gave the ſignal for ſeiſing them: on which Diocles, Tiſarchus, and Anthropinus, with their guards, to the number of two hundred, were cut to pieces: and ſix hundred others, who attemped to aſſiſt them, were ſlain.

CHAP. IV.

HIPPARINUS.

WHILE Hipparinus reſided at Leontium; hearing that Syracuſe was ungarriſoned, a conſiderable force having been ordered from it under the command of Calippus, he reſolved to march a body of troops from Leontium and attack it: previouſly diſpatching ſome emiſſaries to the city, with orders to ſlay the centinels. Theſe orders executed, they opened the gates; through which Hipparinus entered with his mercenaries, and made himſelf maſter of Syracuſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

THEOCLES.

THEOCLES advanced with the Chalcidians from Eubœa againſt Leontium; of which he made himſelf maſter, by the aſſiſtance of the Sicilians, who had before been in poſſeſſion of it. The Platæans alſo ſent thither a colony from Megaræ, which they wanted to plant at Leontium under the protection of Theocles; who had told them, he was under an oath not to diſturb the Sicilians, but that he would open the gates to them in the night, and they might then uſe their diſcretion in regard to them. The gates being accordingly thrown open, the Megarenſians poſſeſſed themſelves of the forum and the tower; and attacked the Sicilians: who, finding themſelves, unarmed and unprepared, unequal to make head againſt the enemy, abandoned the city, and fled. The Megarenſians then undertook to ſupply the place of the Sicilians, and became allies to the Chalcidians.

2. AFTER a reſidence of about ſix months with the Chalcidians, Theocles by the following ſtratagem expelled the Megarenſians from the city. He pretended in the courſe of the late war to have made a vow, if ever he became maſter of Leontium, to offer ſacrifices to twelve gods, and celebrate them in arms. The Megarenſians, who entertained no ſuſpicions of any hoſtile deſigns, congratulated him on the occaſion; and wiſhed ſucceſs might crown his pious acts. The Chalcidians then borrowed arms of them; that, while the ceremonies were performing, they might make the proceſſion. After they had halted in the forum, Theocles ordered proclamation to be made; that the Megarenſians ſhould quit the city before ſun-ſet. They fled to the altars; and implored Theocles not to expel them from the city, or at leaſt not to expel them unarmed.

unarmed. But after conſulting with the Chalcidians, it was determined unſafe, to remove from their city ſuch a number of enemies, and put ſwords in their hands. They were therefore diſmiſſed without arms; and, by the permiſſion of the Chalcidians, for one ſeaſon only wintered at Troilus.

CHAP. VI.

HIPPOCRATES.

HIPPOCRATES, having formed a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the city of the Ergetini, who ſerved as ſtipendaries in his army, in the diſpoſition of the booty uſed always to allot them the largeſt portion; gave them an advanced pay; complimented them on being the beſt troops in his army; and tried all means to allure as many of them as he could into his ſervice. The honours, the advantages, the reputation they acquired under Hippocrates, induced them in great numbers to quit their city, and enliſt in his army: whom he received with peculiar marks of favour, and aſſembling all his forces, marched through the country of the Læſtrygonians; poſting the Ergetini on the ſhore: and the reſt of his army he encamped higher up in the country. The Ergetini being thus decoyed into the field, Hippocrates detached a body to the evacuated city, with a herald to take poſſeſſion of it in his name: and the Geloians, and Camarinæans he ordered to fall upon the Ergetini, and cut them to pieces.

CHAP. VII.

DAPHNÆUS.

IN an action, where the Syracuſans and Italians were engaged againſt the Carthaginians, the Syracuſans being poſted in the right wing, and the Italians in the left, Daphnæus, hearing a loud and confuſed noiſe on the left, haſted thither: where he found the Italians hard preſſed, and ſcarcely able to maintain their ground. Returning to the right wing, he told the Syracuſans, they were victorious in the left: and a vigorous effort on their ſide would render the victory compleat. The Syracuſans, on confidence of the truth of their general's aſſertion, impetuouſly charged the Barbarians, and defeated them.

CHAP. VIII.

LEPTINES.

THE Carthaginians, ſailing by Pachinus, touched there; and committed great depredations on the country around it: when Leptines in the night placed an ambuſcade of horſe, with orders to ſeiſe an opportunity, and ſet their temporary camp on fire. As ſoon as the Carthaginians ſaw their tents and baggage on fire, thither with all expedition they haſted, to ſave what property they could; but in their attempt were intercepted by the ambuſh, who purſued them to their ſhips with great ſlaughter.

2. LEPTINES, ſailing from Lacedæmon, touched at Tarentum: and there landed with ſome of his crew. The Tarentines offered no violence to any of the ſailors, as being Lacedæmonians; but enquired for

for Leptines, in order to apprehend him. When throwing off his robe, taking his utenſils in his hand, and ſome wood upon his ſhoulder, he got on board his ſhip again; and ſlipping his anchor, put off to ſea. His ſailors ſwam to him; whom when he had received on board, he directed his courſe to Syracuſe, and joined Dionyſius.

CHAP. IX.

ANNON.

AS Annon paſſed by Sicily, Dionyſius diſpatched a conſiderable fleet to intercept him: which having come nearly up with him, Annon reefed his ſails, and laid to. The enemy, who watched his motions, did the ſame. Annon then ordered his men as expeditiouſly as poſſible to ſet their ſails: and crowding all the ſail he could, got clear of the enemy; who were thrown into confuſion by this ſudden movement, not being very expert at naval manœuvres.

CHAP. X.

IMILCON.

IMILCON the Carthaginian, who was well acquainted with the propenſity of the Libyans to liquor, in a great number of veſſels of wine infuſed laudanum: and having lodged them in the ſuburbs, he ſkirmiſhed a little with the enemy; and then as if overpowered retreated into the city. The Libyans, elated at their ſuppoſed advantage, and at having blocked up the Carthaginians in their city, made very free with the wine they found; which threw them into a profound ſleep, and left them to the diſcretion of the enemy.

2. IMILCON, with the Carthaginian fleet, weighed anchor in the night from Libya on an expedition to Sicily: having furniſhed the maſters of the ſhips with ſealed tablets, in which he wrote the place of their deſtination. That ſo, in caſe they ſhould be ſeparated, they might know what port to make, without expoſing the ſecret of his expedition to the information of deſerters. And the windows at the heads of the ſhips he ſtopped up; that the enemy might not at a diſtance ſee his lights, and be thereby appriſed of his invaſion.

3. IMILCON had beſieged a town in Libya, to which there were two narrow and difficult approaches: and to defend them, the Libyans had poſted two ſtrong garriſons. Imilcon diſpatched a revolter, to give them intelligence; that he intended to raiſe a mound on one of thoſe approaches, where he had determined his attack; and to ſink a foſs acroſs the other, to prevent the beſieged from ſallying out, and attacking his rear. The Libyans, obſerving the works begun, gave credit to the revolter; and collected their whole ſtrength againſt that approach, on which he had begun to erect his works. When Imilcon, having previouſly prepared wood for the purpoſe, in the night filled the foſs he had cut in that approach, marched his forces over it; and, while the enemy's whole attention was directed to the other paſs, by that quarter carried the town.

4. HAVING beſieged Agrigentum, Imilcon encamped not far from the city. From whence ſeeing the enemy march out in great force, he gave private directions to his officers at a given ſignal, to make a haſty retreat. The Agrigentines preſſed cloſely on them in their flight, and were drawn a conſiderable diſtance from their city. When Imilcon, with a body of troops having poſted himſelf in ambuſh, ſet fire to ſome wood, which he had ordered to be placed near the walls for the purpoſe. The purſuers ſeeing a great ſmoak ariſe from the walls, and apprehending ſome part of their city to be on fire, quitted

the

the purſuit, and with all expedition returned to the relief of it. While thoſe, who had before fled, faced about, and preſſed hard upon their rear. And as ſoon as they reached the place, where the ambuſh was poſted, Imilcon with his forces vigorouſly attacked them, cut many of them to pieces, and the reſt were made priſoners.

5. IMILCON lay encamped near Cronium againſt the generals of Dionyſius: who, being between him and the town, prevented the Carthaginian forces from entering it, though the Cronians would readily have admitted them. Imilcon, therefore, informed of the diſpoſition of the people, cut down all the wood he could find, a great quantity of which grew near the enemy's camp; and piled it in front of them. Then taken advantage of a wind, that blew directly againſt them, he ſet it on fire; and while they were involved in a cloud of ſmoak, ſlipped by them, and reached the walls: when the Cronians opened their gates to him, and he entered the city, while the enemy knew nothing of his march.

CHAP. XI.

GESCON.

AMILCAR, one of the ableſt generals the Carthaginians ever had, commanded their forces in Lybia: but after a ſeries of great ſucceſſes, became obnoxious to a faction, who envied him his reputation; and charging him with deſigns againſt the liberties of the people, procured him to be condemned, and executed. And his brother Geſcon was baniſhed. New generals were then appointed; under whoſe conduct the Carthaginian arms met with nothing but repeated defeats: till their very exiſtence became a matter of doubt. In theſe difficulties what could they do? They could not raiſe Amilcar from the tomb. They therefore

addreſſed a penitential letter to Geſcon; recalling him from exile, conſtituting him general of their armies, and engaging to deliver up to him his own, and his brother's enemies, to be puniſhed at his diſcretion. Geſcon, on his return to his country, ordered his enemies to be brought before him in chains; and commanding them to lie down upon their bellies on the ground, he thrice put his foot lightly upon their necks; and ſaid, he had by ſuch humiliation of them taken ſufficient revenge for his brother's death. This done, he diſmiſſed them; adding, I will not return evil for evil, but repay evil with good. This conduct procured Geſcon a general eſteem, and the ready obedience of all parties, both of friends, and enemies; as a character equally amiable and great. And their public affairs ſoon took a different turn, his courage conquering; and the ſweetneſs of his manners engaging the vanquiſhed to him.

CHAP. XII.

TIMOLEON.

TIMOLEON, having taken the field in Sicily againſt the Carthaginians, juſt as he was advancing to battle, met a mule loaded with parſley. His army was intimidated with the omen: for it was cuſtomary with them, to deck with parſley the monuments of the dead. But Timoleon, giving a different turn to the omen, cried out, "The gods have determined to us the victory: for the reward of victory in the Iſthmian games is a crown of parſley." This ſaying, he put a ſprig of parſley upon his temples; and his generals did the ſame: and the reſt of the army following their example, ſtuck a piece of parſley on their temples; and in full confidence of victory advanced to the field.

2. TIMOLEON having cloſely beſieged the tyrant Mamercus, who by falſe promiſes, and breach of oaths, had deceived, and murdered numbers:

numbers: he promiſed to ſurrender himſelf to Timoleon, and take his trial before the Syracuſans; if he would engage not to ſtand forward as his proſecutor. The condition was complied with; and Timoleon conducted Mamercus to Syracuſe. As ſoon as he had introduced him into the aſſembly: "I will not, 'ſaid he,' proſecute this man; for ſo I promiſed him: but I order him to be immediately executed. For there is no law more juſt; than that he, who has deceived numbers to their ruin, ſhould once be over-reached himſelf."

3. TIMOLEON, according to articles of alliance, having been ordered to the aſſiſtance of the Syracuſans, climbed a very high mountain; from whence he ſaw the Carthaginian army drawn up, to the number of fifty thouſand men, in a bleak ſituation, directly expoſed to the wind and the enemy. Immediately convening a council, "Now, 'ſaid he,' is the moment for victory. For there exiſts an oracle, that hath decreed defeat to the army, that occupies the exact ſtation the Carthaginians have taken. And the period is now at hand, that muſt determine the oracle." This aſſurance gave ſpirits to the Greeks, who with a very inferiour force obtained the victory.

CHAP. XIII.

ARISTON.

AS Ariſton with one ſmall veſſel convoyed the tranſports, laden with corn, an enemy's ſhip appeared in view, chaſed, and came up with him, juſt as he was going to land. He laid the tranſports as near the ſhore as he could, and himſelf kept on the outſide of them. So that if the enemy attacked the men, who landed the corn, they might be galled with darts from the tranſports: and if they attacked the tranſ-

ports,

ports, he might lay upon their ſides, and hem them in between them and his own veſſel.

2. ARISTON, the Corinthian admiral, after a naval engagement between the Athenians and Syracuſans, in which the victory remained undetermined, both fleets keeping the ſea, ordered proviſions to be got ready, and ſtood for the ſhore. After his forces had diſembarked, and made a haſty meal, he ordered them all on board again. And while the Athenians, ſuppoſing the enemy in acknowledgment of their defeat had borne away, and left them maſters of the ſea, were exulting in their victory, and had landed; one employed on one thing, and one on another, in making preparations for their dinner: the Syracuſans ſuddenly attacked them. In the Athenian fleet all was confuſion; each without his dinner, getting on board his ſhip with what expedition he could. While the Syracuſans, who had thoroughly refreſhed themſelves, obtained an eaſy victory.

CHAP. XIV.

THRASYMEDE.

THRASYMEDE, ſon of Philomelus, being enamoured with the daughter of Piſiſtratus, as ſhe was walking in a proceſſion, ran up to her and ſaluted her. Her brother reſented the liberty, and repreſented it as an affront: when Piſiſtratus coolly obſerved to him; "If we puniſh ſome for too great an affection to us, what muſt we do with thoſe who avowedly hate us?" The paſſion of Thraſymede every day increaſing, he engaged a party of his friends to aſſiſt him in carrying off the fair: which they effected, while ſhe was aſſiſting at a religious ceremony. Forcing their way through the crowd with drawn ſwords, they ſeiſed the maid, carried her on board a ſhip, and ſet ſail for

Ægina.

Ægina. Hippias, her eldeſt brother, was at that time ſcouring the ſeas of pirates: and ſuppoſing the veſſel from the expedition with which it ſailed, to be of that deſcription, bore down upon it, and took it. When Thraſymede, and the reſt, were brought before the tyrant, to anſwer for their outrage; inſtead of ſupplicating his pardon, they told him with firmneſs and reſolution, to treat them as he pleaſed: aſſuring him, that from the time they reſolved on the enterpriſe, they had reſigned themſelves to death, and deſpiſed it. Piſiſtratus was ſtruck with the dignity of mind they diſcovered; and gave his daughter in marriage to Thraſymede. This act procured him the favour and friendſhip of all his ſubjects; who no longer conſidered him as a tyrant, but as an affectionate father, and patriotic citizen.

CHAP. XV.

MEGACLES.

MEGACLES, the Meſſenian, exerted himſelf with extraordinary vigour againſt Agathocles tyrant of Syracuſe, ſpirited up many of the Sicilians againſt him, and ſet a price on his head. Irritated at his conduct, Agathocles beſieged Meſſenæ, and ſent a herald to demand Megacles: declaring, that if he was not given up to him, he would ſtorm the city; and reduce every inhabitant to ſlavery. Megacles, who deſpiſed death, propoſed to his fellow citizens, to appoint him their ambaſſador; and he would voluntarily ſurrender himſelf into the hands of the tyrant. The Meſſenians did ſo; and Megacles, being introduced into the camp of Agathocles, thus addreſſed him, "I come in the name of my city, an ambaſſador from the Meſſenians; and the object of my embaſſy is to die. But firſt convene your friends and give me an ambaſſador's hearing." An aſſembly being accordingly ſummoned, Megacles was introduced:

duced: and, after pleading the privileges of his country, "If, 'ſaid he,' the Meſſenians had engaged in an expedition againſt Syracuſe, with a determination utterly to deſtroy it, would not you have done againſt the Meſſenians every thing, I have done againſt the Syracuſans?" Agathocles ſmiled at the queſtion: and his friends, that were preſent, interceded for the ambaſſador. Agathocles accordingly ſent him back unhurt, concluded the war, and entered into alliance with the Meſſenians.

CHAP. XVI.

PAMMENES.

WHEN Pammenes marched his army through Phocis to Thebes, he found the enemy in poſſeſſion of a fort called Philobœotus, to which there were two narrow approaches: one was defended by a ſtrong poſt which the enemy had ſecured; the other was more open. Through the latter Pammenes, having contracted the extent of his lines and deepened his phalanx, ordered his army to file to the right as if with intention of forcing his way. The enemy collected all their force to oppoſe him; even evacuating the poſt they had taken, to defend the other paſs. This was what Pammenes wiſhed, who immediately detached a body of troops to ſecure the deſerted poſt: and through the approach, it commanded, he marched his army without loſs.

2. PAMMENES being ſtrong in cavalry, but in infantry very inferiour to the enemy, who particularly in heavy-armed troops out numbered him, poſted the few heavy-armed troops he had, and ſome of his light infantry, againſt the ſtrongeſt quarter of the enemy's army: and ordered them after a faint ſkirmiſh to fly, and thereby draw the heavy-armed troops of the enemy from the main body of the army. This ſucceeding as he wiſhed, he advanced at the head of a body of cavalry from

from the other wing, fell furiouſly upon their rear; and the troops, that had before fled, facing about, he incloſed the enemy, and either took them priſoners, or cut them to pieces.

3. PAMMENES formed a deſign to make himſelf maſter of the harbour of the Sicyonians; which was then under the protection of Thebes. And, at the ſame time he advanced againſt the city by land, he manned a merchant-man with ſoldiers: which anchored at the mouth of the harbour. Towards the evening ſome of them, without arms, went on ſhore, as merchants, to make purchaſes, and ſee the market. After the evening was ſomewhat advanced, and the ſhip had entered the harbour; Pammenes with a great and confuſed noiſe attacked the city. All run to the quarter, where the attack was made. Even they, who lived on the beach, left it, and fled to the aſſiſtance of their friends in the city. The armed troops in the mean time went on ſhore; and made themſelves maſters of the harbour without oppoſition.

4. PAMMENES ordered his men to obſerve the orders of the trumpet, in a manner contrary to their proper ſignification. As ſoon as they heard the retreat ſounded, they were inſtructed to charge: and when the trumpet ſounded the charge, they were directed to retreat. And of both thoſe devices he availed himſelf with ſucceſs.

5. PAMMENES, with a ſmall force, being ſurpriſed by the enemy, who were very ſuperiour in number, diſpatched a ſpy into their camp; who informed himſelf of the WORD, and returned, and diſcovered it to Pammenes. At midnight he attacked the camp; and, while the enemy in the dark could not diſtinguiſh each other, nor know their friends from their foes, who had poſſeſſed themſelves of the WORD, obtained a complete victory.

CHAP. XVII.

HERACLIDES.

DEMETRIUS, having engaged in an expedition into Lydia, in his abſence committed the charge of Athens to Heraclides. The Athenian generals ſought to avail themſelves of this opportunity: and for that purpoſe endeavoured to gain Hierocles, general of the mercenaries to open the gates of the citadel in the night, and admit the Athenian troops; who would murder Heraclides, and make themſelves maſters of the place. This conſpiracy, in which the generals Hipparchus and Mneſidamus were principals, was formed at Iliſſus, during the celebration of the leſſer myſteries.* Hierocles, however, faithful to Heraclides and his truſt, informed him of the dark deſign: who concerted meaſures with him for admitting them; opening only a part of the gates. In the night four hundred and twenty men were accordingly admitted, under the conduct of Mneſidamus, Polycles, Calliſthenes, Theopompus, Satyrus, Onetorides, Sthenocrates, and Pythion. Heraclides, having previouſly introduced into the citadel two thouſand men, diſpatched without noiſe or confuſion the conſpirators and their forces as faſt as they entered.

2. HERACLIDES, the Tarentine architect, engaged with Philip, father of Perſeus, with his own hand to deſtroy the Rhodian fleet. When, leaving the royal palace, he expoſed to the people marks of the king's cruel uſage of him, and fled to the altars. The people expreſſed great compaſſion for him: and by favour of them he got into a boat, and eſcaped to Rhodes. "To you, 'ſaid he to the Rhodians,' I fly

* The leſſer myſteries were celebrated at a place called Agræ near the river Iliſſus.

for

for refuge from the cruel treatment I have experienced at the hands of Philip; only for preventing an unjuſt war he meditated againſt you. And in proof of the truth of what I ſay, here is his letter, addreſſed to the Cretans: in which he expreſsly declares his intention of making war upon the Rhodians." The letter ſeemed to place his veracity beyond a doubt: the Rhodians therefore received him courteouſly; and thought he might be ſerviceable to them againſt Philip. When, taking the advantage of a rough and boiſterous night, he ſet fire to all their docks. Thirteen of them were entirely demoliſhed; and all the ſhipping that was in them. As ſoon as he ſaw the fire take effect, he got into a boat, and, ſlipping off, paſſed over into Macedonia; where he afterwards held the firſt place in Philip's friendſhip.

CHAP. XVIII.

AGATHOSTRATUS.

THE Rhodians being engaged in a war with Ptolemy, whoſe fleet then lay at Epheſus; Chremonides, Ptolemy's admiral, embarked, and put to ſea, intending to give the Rhodians battle. Agathoſtratus ſailed with the Rhodian fleet as far as Melia: and having ſhewn himſelf to the enemy, as if declining an action, returned into port. The enemy gave a general cheer, at ſeeing the Rhodians retreat, and returned alſo into port. When Agathoſtratus with all expedition putting to ſea again, in a cloſe compact line bore down upon them, juſt as they were landing at the temple of Venus; and, vigouroufly attacking them thus unprepared for action, obtained a compleat victory.

CHAP. XIX.

LYCUS.

LYCUS a general of Lyſimachus, when Anœtus general of Demetrius was left in charge of Epheſus, and harboured there a number of pirates, who committed great depredations on the neighbouring countries, found means to bribe Andron the chief-pirate, to betray Epheſus to him. And the conſpiracy was thus conducted: the pirate introduced into the city a body of Lycus's troops, without arms, in their coats and cloaks, and bound as priſoners. As ſoon as they advanced to the citadel, he ordered them to draw their ſwords, which they had concealed under their arms: and having ſlain the centinels and guard, they gave the ſignal agreed on to Lycus; who, forcing his way to them with the reſt of his army, took Anætus priſoner, and made himſelf maſter of Epheſus. But after paying the pirates, according to his agreement, he expelled them from the city; juſtly concluding, he could not depend on their fidelity to him, who had been ſo very perfidious to their former friends.

CHAP. XX.

MENECRATES.

MENECRATES having attacked Salamis in Cyprus, when his men twice driven from the walls had fled to the ſhips, renewed the attack a third time; and gave orders to the maſters of the veſſels to weigh anchor, and bear away to an adjacent promontory, and behind it to anchor and lie concealed. The ſoldiers, having prepared their engines and ladders

ders, again attacked the walls, and were again beaten off: but when they could ſee nothing of their ſhips, finding no hopes of ſafety left them, but in victory, they returned to the charge; and, acquiring courage from deſpair, drove the beſieged from the walls, and made themſelves maſters of the place.

CHAP. XXI.

ATHENODORUS.

ATHENODORUS having been defeated by Phocion at Atarnes, and obliged to retreat, adminiſtered an oath to all his officers and ſoldiers, to fight as long as they were able to ſtand: then led them to the ſame ſpot, and renewed the action. When the conquered, under the reſtriction of the oath, became victorious; and the victors fled.

CHAP. XXII.

DIOTIMUS.

DIOTIMUS with ten ſhips was convoying ſome tranſports, when he was intercepted by the Lacedæmonians with a fleet of twenty ſhips at Chios. Keeping cloſe in with his tranſports, he maintained a running fight; and, ſeparately attacking the enemy's ſhips, as they came up with him, defeated a fleet of double his force without any loſs, by his addreſs and excellent manœuvres.

2. WHEN Diotimus with ten ſhips advanced againſt the Lacedæmonian fleet conſiſting of the ſame number; conſcious as they were of the Athenians' ſuperiour ſeamanſhip, he could not bring them to an action. He afterwards joined his ſhips, two by two, together, hoiſting

ing only the ſails of one; and thus put to ſea. The Lacedæmonians, by the appearance of the ſails diſcerning only five ſhips, and ſuppoſing that the whole ſtrength of the enemy, immediately bore down upon them. As ſoon as they had advanced too near to eſcape him, Diotimus looſed his ſhips, and received their fleet with an equal force. And, ſo ſuperiour were the Athenians to the enemy in naval ſcience, that he ſunk ſix of the enemy, and took the other four.

3. DIOTIMUS, the Athenian admiral, being ordered upon an expedition, that required diſpatch, privately told the captains in the fleet, that he meaned only to take with him thoſe veſſels that were the beſt ſailers, and could keep up with him. This was given out by him, not intending to leave any behind, but in order to make them exert themſelves, and by their alacrity and ſpeed give vigour to the expedition.

4. INTENDING an invaſion of an enemy's country, Diotimus landed in the night a ſmall party from each ſhip, of which he formed an ambuſcade. Early in the morning he lay to that part of the ſhore, near which he had planted the ambuſcade; ordered the ſoldiers on deck, to prepare for action; and made a feint as if with intention to put ſome boats, with armed men in them, on ſhore. The enemy advanced to the place, to diſpute their landing. When at a ſignal given, the troops ſallying out from their ambuſh, fell upon their rear, ſlew many of them, and put the reſt to flight. Diotimus then landed his army without further oppoſition.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

TYNNICHUS.

WHEN Theodoſia a city of Pontus was beſieged by the neighbouring tyrants, and in danger of being taken; Tynnichus with a ſhip of burthen, and one man of war, relieved it. Taking with him as many ſoldiers as he could, three trumpets, and ſome canoes*, in the night he arrived near the town: and in a ſeparate canoe poſted each trumpeter; ordering them to advance at proper diſtances from each other, and ſound the charge not ſeparately, but together, and at regular intervals; ſo that it might appear to be the ſound not of a ſingle trumpet, but of ſeveral. The beſiegers apprehending the arrival of a ſuperiour fleet, quitted their ſtation, and thought themſelves fortunate in effecting an eſcape: leaving Tynnichus, maſter of the port, to throw into the town a reinforcement.

CHAP. XXIV.

CLITARCHUS.

CLITARCHUS upon the advance of an enemy, leſt he ſhould be blocked up in the town, marched out his forces; then ordered the gates to be locked, and the keys thrown over the walls: which he took, and ſhewed to his ſoldiers; who, finding all hopes of a retreat thus cut off, fought bravely, and their courage was crowned with ſucceſs.

* Σκαφος properly ſignifies a ſmall boat made by ſcooping or hollowing one ſingle piece of timber. And the term, though not reſtricted to boats of that conſtruction, always denotes thoſe of the ſmalleſt ſize.

CHAP. XXV.

TIMARCHUS.

TIMARCHUS, the Ætolian, having landed his forces in a very populous part of Aſia, leſt his men ſhould be deterred from proſecuting the enterpriſe by the great numbers the enemy might bring into the field, to preclude all hopes of effecting a ſafe retreat, ſet fire to his ſhips. His army, ſeeing no alternative, but death, or victory, exerted themſelves for the latter, and obtained it.

CHAP. XXVI.

EUDOCIMUS.

SOME diſputes happening in the camp, which Eudocimus in vain endeavoured to compoſe, and the parties being on the point of deciding their differences by arms; he ordered couriers*, as having juſt arrived, to ſignify the approach of the enemy, and that they had even begun to deſtroy the paliſades. The news of the enemy's approach immediately

* The σκοποι, or ſcouts, were diſperſed in different parts without the camp; to watch the roads, as well as to obſerve the enemy's motions in their camp, and to give intelligence of every particular they could diſcover, reſpecting their deſigns, their varied poſition, or their ſudden movements, their acceſſion, or diminution of force, their dependencies, or diſappointments; in ſhort to convey every article of information of every kind, that might concern them. The δρομοκηρυκες, which I have here tranſlated couriers, were ſomewhat different from the σκοποι: and their office was to convey from the ſcouts to the generals, between whom they were continually paſſing and repaſſing, what obſervations thoſe had made. The δρομοκηρυκες were not always employed: but only when the urgency of affairs required the continued attention of the σκοποι.

compoſed

compoſed the internal commotions: and in the common cauſe every one flew to his poſt.

CHAP. XXVII.

PAUSISTRATUS.

PAUSISTRATUS, the Rhodian admiral, finding a great loſs of arms, ordered his men on board, each in his arms. And as ſoon as they were all embarked, he commanded every man to diſarm; and certain officers, whom he appointed for the purpoſe, to take care that no arms were carried on ſhore.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THEOGNIS.

THEOGNIS, to put an end to factions that were forming in the army about their ſtations in companies and bands, diſpatched in the night a body of horſe and officers; with orders to poſt themſelves in a conſpicuous place at ſome little diſtance, where they might be ſeen by the army, and taken for the enemy. Upon whoſe appearance Theognis in affected hurry and confuſion ordered the army immediately to form, and the men to fall into their ranks; as if the enemy were actually in ſight and advancing againſt them: the apprehenſion of which left them no time for contention; but each readily poſted himſelf in his old ſtation. Theognis then told them, the ſuppoſed enemy were their friends and fellow ſoldiers. But, added he, in future let us have no more diſputes about ſtations: but each of you maintain the poſt, ye have now taken.

2. APPREHENSIVE that ſpies had introduced themſelves into the camp, Theognis poſted guards on the outſide of the trenches, and then ordered every man to take his ſtation by his own arms. The ſpies in conſequence of this order became very diſtinguiſhable: being either moving off, or having no arms by which to poſt themſelves.

CHAP. XXIX.

DIOCLES.

DIOCLES, the Athenian general, when purſuing his march in an enemy's country he could not make his men keep their ranks, or carry their arms, was continually changing the WORD. The men from thence concluding the enemy were not far off, took their arms, and preſerved their ranks.

CHAP. XXX.

CHILIUS.

CHILIUS the Arcadian, when he reſided at Lacedæmon, learning that the Spartans entertained a deſign of fortifying the iſthmus, and withdrawing themſelves from the general alliance of the Athenians and the other Greeks that were ſituated without the peninſula, obſerved to them; if the Athenians and other Greeks ſhould ever be on terms of friendſhip with the Perſians, the Barbarians would find a thouſand ways into Peloponneſus. The Lacedæmonians felt the force of his obſervation, thought no more of the iſthmus, but joined the general alliance of Greece.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXI.

CYPZELUS.

CYPZELUS, after having delegated the moſt eminent of the Bacchiades to conſult the oracle at Delphos concerning ſome publick affairs, that concerned the Corinthians, proſcribed their return to Corinth. And having thus rid himſelf of the moſt powerful family in the ſtate, he eaſily poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty.

CHAP. XXXII.

TELESINICUS.

TELESINICUS the Corinthian engaged the Athenians before the harbour of Syracuſe. When, the battle having continued great part of the day, and both parties being much fatigued, Teleſinicus diſpatched a ſloop to the city, directing them to bring proviſions down to the beach. Which done, at a ſudden ſignal, the battle yet undecided, the Corinthian fleet retreated into port. On their quitting the ſea, the Athenian fleet alſo ſtood to land; and the men went on ſhore, and were differently employed in preparing their dinner. Teleſinicus in the mean time, his men having taken a ſhort and haſty repaſt, put to ſea again; and, covering his decks with dartſmen and archers, on a ſudden attacked the Athenians; who from their different engagements run to their reſpective ſhips with tumult and confuſion: and bearing down upon their ſterns, before they had time to get about, he obtained an eaſy and compleat victory.

2. TELESINICUS, obſerving that the enemy dined when he did, and regulated their motions by his own, directed ſome of his beſt ſailing veſſels to take their refreſhment early in the morning: and at the uſual time, he gave the ſignal for the reſt of the fleet to dine. The enemy did the ſame: when thoſe ſhips that had already dined, attacked them unprepared and in diſorder; and the reſt of the fleet, after a ſhort repaſt, coming up, by a compleat victory ſoon put an end to the engagement.

CHAP. XXXIII.

POMPISCUS.

IT was a general rule with Pompiſcus the Arcadian, whenever he encamped, to fortify againſt the roads leading to his camp both with paliſades and trenches: and alſo to make new roads behind them. That any ſcouts, or ſpies, who ſhould endeavour in the night to enter the camp, might fall into the trench; and, the road being turned, not be able to find their way back.

2. POMPISCUS, perceiving the enemy from the vicinity of their ſtation obſerved his ſignals and orders, privately inſtructed his men to act directly contrary to them.

3. POMPISCUS, having ſo formed his camp, as almoſt to incloſe a city he had inveſted, in a ſingle quarter purpoſely left it open. That approach he ordered ſhould be ſafe and free to all, who might have occaſion to uſe it: and directed his marauding parties to moleſt none who ſhould be found there; whether going to the city, or coming from it. The citizens, finding themſelves unmoleſted in that quarter, went into the country as their concerns called them, and paſſed backwards and forwards

forwards without apprehenſion. When informed by his ſcouts, that great numbers of the inhabitants were abroad; he ſuddenly attacked, and made them priſoners.

4. FINDING he could not carry a town by ſtorm, Pompiſcus bribed a deſerter to convey intelligence to the enemy, that the Arcadians had recalled him; and that he had it in orders to raiſe the ſiege. Rejoiced at the news, and ſeeing the army ſoon after ſtrike their tents, and retreat, they gave full credit to the information of the deſerter, and came in crowds out of the city to ſeiſe whatever they might find worth carrying off in the enemy's camp. Pompiſcus, ſuddenly returning, fell upon them; and made himſelf maſter both of them, and the town.

5. IN order to capture the enemy's ſcouts, Pompiſcus always had few roads to his camp; and thoſe very open and expoſed: and his marauding parties he ordered to paſs and repaſs through bye-ways. The ſcouts, not venturing through the publick roads, uſed to take the bye-ways; and thus ſoon fell into the foragers' hands.

6. POMPISCUS employed as ſcouts perſons, who were ſtrangers to each other; that they might be the leſs likely to form cabals, and give in falſe reports. He alſo ordered them to have no communication whatever with any perſons in the camp; that no one, who might know them, ſhould have it in his power to appriſe the enemy of their errands.*

CHAP. XXXIV.

NICON.

NICON, the Samian captain, in order to paſs the enemy's fleet undiſcovered, painted his ſhip in the ſame manner with theirs; and

* From this ſtratagem we learn one particular uſe of the δρομοκηρυκες: of which ſee Chap. XXVI. of this book.

chuſing

chuſing out ſome of the ableſt and moſt expert hands he had on board, he put them to the oars, and then wore down to them; his crew, as ſoon as they came near enough, ſaluting by ſigns thoſe of the adverſe fleet: who were at firſt ſurpriſed; nor, till ſhe had dropped into the rear, and from thence had ſtruck into a different courſe, and got out of their reach, knew that ſhe was an enemy.

CHAP. XXXV.

NEARCHUS.

NEARCHUS the Cretan made himſelf maſter of Telmiſſus, then in the hands of Antipatridas, by the following ſtratagem. He ſailed into the harbour: when Antipatridas, who was an old acquaintance of his, came out from the fort to him, and aſked him if he was on particular buſineſs; and whether he was in want of any thing. The Cretan told him, he had ſome muſick girls on board, and ſome ſlaves that were in irons, whom he ſhould be glad to leave on ſhore with him: which Antipatridas readily granted. The women were accordingly conducted into the fort; and the ſlaves carrying their inſtruments and baggage attended them. In the flutes were concealed ſmall ſwords, and targets in the baſkets: which, as ſoon as they had entered the caſtle, thoſe, who had attended them thither, immediately laid hold on; poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort, and made Nearchus maſter of Telmiſſus.

CHAP. XXXVI.

DOROTHEUS.

DOROTHEUS the Leucadian in a ſingle ſhip, being purſued by two, ſteered towards a harbour: and ſlipping by the mouth of it, ſuddenly tacked about; and briſkly bearing down on the veſſel which was firſt in the purſuit; and which ſuppoſing it his intention to enter the harbour had crowded all her ſail in that direction, before ſhe had time to alter her courſe and ſtand to him, ſunk her on the firſt attack. And the other ſhip, ſeeing the fate of her companion, immediately ſheered off.

CHAP. XXXVII.

SOSISTRATUS.

SOSISTRATUS prevailed on the Syracuſans to paſs a general decree for the baniſhment of all thoſe, with their families, who had connection with Agathocles, or were in any degree inſtrumental in raiſing him to the ſovereignty. They were accordingly conducted out of the city by a body of a thouſand men, conſiſting partly of horſe; who fell upon them and ſlew moſt of them. Thoſe that eſcaped Soſiſtratus afterwards proſcribed; and confiſcated the property of the exiles: which he employed in hiring with it a body of Greeks and Barbarians; and, liberating thoſe who had been condemned to the quarries, he took them alſo into his ſervice: thoſe became his guards, and by their aſſiſtance he obtained the ſovereignty of Syracuſe.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

DIOGNETUS.

DIOGNETUS the Athenian, having advanced againſt a city, in the night planted an ambuſcade; and the next day with a naval force openly attacked it. The enemy on his approach immediately marched out of the city, to diſpute his landing: when the ambuſcade, defenceleſs and open as it was left, eaſily took poſſeſſion of it. The enemy confuſed and dubious whether to diſpute the landing of the invaders, or attempt the recovery of the city, Diognetus took the advantage of their perplexity, landed his troops, and defeated the force that advanced againſt him.

CHAP. XXXIX.

ARCHEBIUS.

ARCHEBIUS of Heraclea, when the enemy were perpetually harraſſing the country with prædatory incurſions on the coaſts, faſtened together ſome fiſhing boats, and ſecured them with ropes run through their keels: then with a body of troops poſted himſelf, near at hand, in ambuſh. A trumpeter, who was ſtationed on a tree, in order to obſerve the enemy, as ſoon as he diſcovered them ſteering towards the coaſt with a tender and two tranſports, gave notice to the ambuſcade: who after they had landed, and part were engaged in plundering the country, and part in looſing the boats, ſuddenly ſallied out, attacked, and cut them to pieces. And the tender and tranſports, which fell into his hands, Archebius conducted into the harbour.

CHAP. XL.

ARISTOCRATES.

ARISTOCRATES, having captured a Lacedæmonian ſhip, manned it with his own crew, and a conſiderable military force, and ſteered to a city in alliance with the Lacedæmonians. Thoſe, who had the charge of the harbour, readily admitted him as a friend and ally: when the men were no ſooner landed, than they fell upon the inhabitants and guards, who were leiſurely walking upon the beach; ſlew ten, who endeavoured to make ſome reſiſtance; and carried off twenty-five priſoners, for whom Ariſtocrates afterwards received a conſiderable ranſom.

CHAP. XLI.

ARISTOMACHUS.

ARISTOMACHUS having taken ſome ſhips of the Cardians, placed his own rowers at their oars; ornamented them with the colours and ſtandards of his own ſhips, which he towed after him as in triumph; and, the muſick playing, in the evening entered the harbour. The Cardians flocked out of the city, to ſee their victorious fleet: when Ariſtomachus's troops landed, and made a dreadful havock amongſt them.

CHAP. XLII.

CHARIMENES.

WHEN Charimenes the Mileſian fled to Phaſelis, and was cloſely purſued by ſome ſloops, diſpatched after him by Pericles the Lycian; he put to ſhore, and, changing his dreſs, travelled on foot through the dominions of Pericles.

CHAP. XLIII.

CALLIADES.

CALLIADES maſter of a veſſel, being overtaken by a ſhip of war before he could make port, ſo managed his rudder, as to receive upon it the oars of the enemy's firſt bench, and thereby break the force of their attacks upon his ſtern: by which he for ſome time kept them off, and under cover of the night found means to eſcape.

CHAP. XLIV.

MEMNON.

MEMNON, having determined on a war with Leucon tyrant of the Boſphorus, in order to acquaint himſelf with his force, and the population of the country, diſpatched Archibiades in a veſſel to Byzantium, as his ambaſſador to Leucon, to treat with him of an alliance. And with him he ſent an eminent muſician, an Olynthian, Ariſtonicus by name, the moſt celebrated artiſt of his day: that whatever towns he touched

touched at in his paſſage, Ariſtonicus might publickly entertain them with his muſical abilities; and, the inhabitants of courſe crowding to the theatres to hear him, the ambaſſador might be enabled from the number of men he ſaw there to form ſome eſtimate of the population of the reſpective places.

2. MEMNON, when encamped on a plain before the enemy, to decoy them from an advantageous poſt they had taken, retreated to a greater diſtance from them; and drew up only a part of his army, to induce the enemy to ſuſpect ſome diſaſter in his camp. And to ſupport ſuch ſuſpicion, he at the ſame time diſpatched a revolter over to them, to inform them a mutiny had taken place in his army; and that not venturing to truſt his troops, he had for fear of an attack from the enemy retreated to a greater diſtance. His retreat, and the diminiſhed appearance of his army, conſpired to confirm the information of the revolter: they ventured therefore to quit their poſt, and offered him battle. When the army of Memnon, inſtead of being divided by mutinies, in one firm body marched out, attacked the enemy, and obtained a compleat victory.

3. CHARES having beſieged Ariſtonymus in Methymna, Memnon ſent an embaſſy to him, deſiring him to deſiſt from any further hoſtilities againſt Ariſtonymus, who was his father's friend and ally; and whom he ſhould, if he perſiſted in the ſiege, the next night with a powerful force relieve. Chares ridiculed an embaſſy of that import: ſuppoſing it impoſſible by the next night to tranſport ſo far an army of the magnitude he pretended. But Memnon, as ſoon as he had diſpatched the embaſſy, marched his forces five furlongs, and embarked twelve hundred men: with orders as ſoon as ever they were landed at the fort, to kindle a fire, and attack the enemy. Such an unexpected attack in the dark, and a fire at the ſame time blazing, induced Chares

to make a precipitate retreat; ſuppoſing Memnon had with all the force pretended poſſeſſed himſelf of the citadel.

4. MEMNON with a body of five thouſand troops advanced againſt Magneſia; and, at the diſtance of forty furlongs from the city which was defended by Parmenio and Attalus with a force of ten thouſand men, pitched his camp; and fortified it. This done, he led his forces out: but, on the enemy's advance, ſounded a retreat; and marched back his army into the camp. The enemy retreated in the ſame manner. Memnon again drew up his army, and as ſoon as the enemy advanced againſt him, he again retreated. The enemy alſo according to his movements regulated their own; advancing to the field when he marched out, and retreating when he retreated. At laſt, after the enemy had retreated from the field, put off their arms, and were at dinner, Memnon immediately returned and attacked them. Riſing haſtily from their meal, ſome without arms, others haſtily ſnatching them up, and all in great confuſion, before they had time to form their phalanx, he had ſecured a victory: many being cut to pieces, and many taken priſoners; and thoſe, who eſcaped, fled for refuge to the city.

5. WHEN Memnon advanced againſt Cyzicum, he put a Macedonian cap upon his head, and made all his army do the ſame. The Cyzicenian generals, obſerving from the walls their appearance, ſuppoſed it to be Chalcus the Macedonian, their friend and ally, marching with a body of troops to their aſſiſtance; and had opened their gates ready to receive him. They however diſcovered their error juſt ſoon enough to correct it, and ſhut their gates againſt him: when Memnon contented himſelf with ravaging their country.

CHAP.

CHAP. XLV.

PHILOMEDUS.

WHEN the Phocenſians were attacked by the united forces of Thebes and Theſſalis; Philomedus engaged, if they would commit the conduct of the war to him, to terminate it ſucceſsfully. His engagement was embraced, and he was enabled to levy a body of mercenaries; which inſtead of employing againſt the common enemy, he bribed them to his own intereſts, and by their aſſiſtance poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty.

CHAP. XLVI.

DEMOCLES.

DEMOCLES with others having been charged with an embaſſy by Dionyſius the tyrant, he was accuſed by the reſt of the ambaſſadors, as having neglected the tyrant's intereſts: on hearing which, when Dionyſius expreſſed his reſentment; "Our quarrels, 'ſaid he,' originated merely in this; after ſupper they would ſing the Pæans of Steſichorus and Pindar, and I your's:" at the ſame time repeating ſome of his verſes. Dionyſius was ſo pleaſed with his taſte, that he thought no more of his offences.

CHAP. XLVII.

PANÆTIUS.

PANÆTIUS in a war between the Leontines and Megarenſians, concerning the bounds of their reſpective territories, was appointed general. And the firſt uſe he made of his authority was to ſpirit up the ſervants of the camp, and the infantry, againſt the purveyors and cavalry, as having every advantage in war, while themſelves ſtruggled under every hardſhip, that attended it. He then ordered all to diſarm themſelves, and pile their arms at the gate of the camp; to have an account taken of them, and the condition of them examined: and the horſes he directed the ſervants to take, and feed. Having ſix hundred heavy-armed troops, fit for an attack and devoted to his intereſts; to the commanding officer of theſe he gave inſtructions to take account of the arms: and then withdrew to the trees, where the ſervants and horſes were ſtationed, as if to indulge a little in the ſhade; and there he perſuaded the ſervants, to attack their maſters. Accordingly mounting their horſes, they ſeiſed the arms; which were in charge of the heavy-armed troops, that were appriſed of his deſigns and attached to his intereſts: then falling upon their maſters naked and unarmed, they cut them to pieces, and with all expedition marched directly to the city; of which they took poſſeſſion, and inveſted Panætius with the ſovereignty.

BOOK VI.

THE PREFATORY ADDRESS.

TO your moſt ſacred majeſties, Antoninus and Verus, this Sixth Book of Stratagems I alſo addreſs; moſt ardently hoping hereafter to employ myſelf in handing down to poſterity thoſe excellent ſtratagems you have yourſelves practiſed; whoſe wars have been an uniform ſeries of ſucceſſes. For ſuperiour as you are to antient generals in power and fortune, far more do you excel them in experience and abilities; by which you have ſo ſucceſsfully terminated foreign wars with many barbarous nations, and in concert with your father formed plans of permanent regulation for the conquered Mauruſians, the ſubjugated Britons, and the humbled Getæ. The Perſians and Parthians now call down the thunder of your war upon them: Go then, and, under the favour of the immortal gods, diſplay your wiſdom in forming plans, and your fortitude in the execution of them. I ſhall be happy to employ myſelf in a full and accurate relation of thoſe exploits; which poſterity will receive with admiration. In the mean time thoſe atchievements of antient heroes, ere yet I employ myſelf on your's, to thoſe I have already offered to you I prepare to add.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

JASON.

JASON having formed a deſign to attack a city in Theſſaly, without communicating his deſign to his army, ordered them to be reviewed, and to receive their pay. As ſoon as they came to the ground, in arms, and all in good ſpirits; meſſengers ſuddenly arrived with intelligence, that the enemy had invaded their territories, and were juſt ſo far diſtant, as the city he had it in contemplation to attack. The army, equipped for battle, urged him to make no delay, but immediately to lead them againſt the enemy. He availed himſelf of their requeſt, marched againſt the city; ſurpriſed, and took it: the victors and conquered being equally ſtrangers to his intentions.

2. JASON the Theſſalian, when his men were very importunate with him for their pay, and he had it not in his power to diſcharge the arrears, run haſtily into his mother's apartments; as if to eſcape the violence of the ſoldiers: two or three of them at the ſame time ruſhing in with him. His mother, who was exceedingly rich, compoſed all differences, and paid the arrears.

3. AFTER a war, which he had concluded with ſucceſs, wanting money to pay his troops, Jaſon told his mother, that in the courſe of the war he had received manifeſt aſſiſtance from Caſtor and Pollux; and had vowed in caſe he ſucceeded to celebrate a magnificent ſacrifice in honour of them: to which he had invited his generals, commanders, captains, and all who had any rank in the army. On credit of this, ſhe ſent him cups, ewers, waiters, and the whole ſervice of table plate that ſhe had, in gold and ſilver: of which he was no ſooner in poſſeſſion, than he ſold it all; and paid his mercenaries.

4. JASON

4. JASON having taken a city, that was very rich, and replete with elegant and valuable commodities, diſpatched a meſſenger to his mother; deſiring her to ſend all the domeſtics ſhe had about her, that were verſed in works of elegance and embroidery, to chuſe for her ſuch articles as they thought moſt magnificent, and beſt worthy of her acceptance. She accordingly ordered upon this errand all, in whoſe taſte ſhe had moſt reliance: whom Jaſon retained in cuſtody, till at a great expence ſhe purchaſed their ranſom.

5. JASON, with one of his brothers, went to his mother; who was amuſing herſelf with her domeſtics in the room, where the needle-work and embroidery were executed: and pretending to have buſineſs of importance, on which to conſult her, deſired the domeſtics might withdraw. The guards accordingly conducted them from the apartment: when after a long converſation, Jaſon laughed, and told her, if ſhe expected her domeſtics again, ſhe muſt ſend, and ranſom them.

6. JASON had a brother, whoſe name was Merion; a man exceedingly affluent, but very tenacious, and not at all diſpoſed to ſupply his neceſſitous demands. Having a ſon born, he invited the Theſſalian chiefs to an entertainment on the occaſion, when a name was to be given to the child; and particularly his brother, whom he wiſhed to take a principal part in the ceremony. And while Merion was thus engaged, Jaſon pretended to go out a hunting; but inſtead of that went to Pagaſæ, the villa where his brother reſided. And ſurrounding the houſe with a troop of armed men, he bound the ſtewards, and brought away twenty talents of ſilver. He then returned in great ſpirits to the entertainment: at which he deſired his brother to preſide, and alſo begged him to give a name to the child. Merion, at that inſtant receiving intelligence that his houſe had been plundered, gave him the name of Porthaon, or the plunderer.

7. JASON accompanied by his brother Polidore, went to take poſ-

 ſeſſion

ſeſſion of a city; and to ſell the confiſcated property in it. At bathing time he adviſed his brother, in order to give circulatiou to the blood, to rnb his body well, and uſe as he did the ſtrigil freely. This as he endeavoured to do, Jaſon obſerved to him, the ring he wore on his finger, incommoded him; and adviſed him to pull it off, and lay it aſide till he was dreſſed. Polidore accordingly gave it to ſome one, that happened to ſtand near, to hold for him: who according to Jaſon's inſtructions carried it directly to Polidore's wife; and aſked her for ten talents of gold, producing, in proof of the reality of his commiſſion for that purpoſe, her huſband's ring. To her it appeared ſo; and ſhe immediately gave the meſſenger the money: which as ſoon as he brought to Jaſon, he gave up the ſtrigil, and told his brother it was time to dreſs.

CHAP. II.

ALEXANDER THE PHERÆAN:

WHILE Leoſthenes lay before Panormum, Alexander not daring to hazard a general action with the whole Athenian fleet, ſent in the night to the garriſon at Acaſium; directing them, in caſe the enemy detached any ſhips from their ſtation, to let him know it, by lighting a torch on their tower; if they detached a ſecond ſhip, they were to light another on the Magneſian tower; and if a third, they were to light a third fire on the tower of Pagaſæ. Leoſthenes, according to his wiſhes, diſpatched a ſhip to Samos, another to Thaſos, and a third to the Helleſpont. The beſieged informed Alexander of it by the ſignals agree on: who immediately attacked the Athenian fleet thus weakened, and defeated them.

2. ALEXANDER, after the battle of Peparethus, diſpatched ſome veſſels

veſſels immediately to the Piræum, in hopes of ſurpriſing the Athenians, off from their guard, and in full ſecurity, in conſequence of their recent victory; with orders to ſeiſe all the money they found on the tables. The Athenians, ſuppoſing them friends, never attempted to prevent their landing: which as ſoon as they had effected, they ſounded the charge, and with drawn ſwords immediately ſecured poſſeſſion of the money tables. And while the Athenians fled into the city, to give information to the generals of what had paſſed at the Piræum; having poſſeſſed themſelves of the money, they retreated to their ſhips.

CHAP. III.

ATHENOCLES.

ATHENOCLES, cloſely beſieged, againſt the battering ram and other offenſive machines contrived to run along the ſides of the fortreſs bars of lead; which broke the violence of the ſtroke, and ſpoiled the enemy's machines. Againſt this device the beſiegers advanced another machine; which diſlodged the maſs of lead in ſuch a direction, that in its fall it hurt no one who was under it: then, under cover of the teſtudo, they again advanced to the attack, and ſhook the walls. The beſieged notwithſtanding continued vigorouſly to exert themſelves; and through brazen pipes poured melted lead from the walls, which diſjointed the teſtudo: till the enemy contrived, from the works they had erected, in great meaſure to counteract the effect of the lead by diſcharging upon it a quantity of vinegar; by which that, as well as other combuſtibles which were thrown from the walls, were ſoon extinguiſhed. For nothing is more effectual to the extinction of fire, than vinegar*: nor can any thing be better ſecured againſt it, than by being rubbed

* Geoffrey de Vineſauf, who accompanied King Richard I. to the cruſade, ſays of the Greek fire, which indeed is much ſpoken of in all the hiſtories of the Holy wars as being frequently employed with ſucceſs by the Saracens againſt the Chriſtians, that with a pernicious ſtench and livid flame it conſumed even flint and iron, and would continue to burn a con-

rubbed over with that liquid; which the fire no ſooner touches, than it is quenched. They alſo hung round it ſponges filled with water. And ſome, againſt the melted lead, covered their machines with ſand and dirt.

CHAP. IV.

PHILOPÆMEN.

PHILOPÆMEN thought it not the part of good generalſhip, always to lead the phalanx: but uſed to ride through the ranks, and be ſometimes in the van, ſometimes in the centre, and at other times in the rear: by which means he ſaw every thing, and was always at hand to correct whatever in any part of the army he ſaw amiſs.

2. PHILOPÆMEN having been defeated by the Lacedæmonians, and purſued to the Eurotas, as ſoon as he had paſſed the river, ordered the cavalry to unbridle their horſes, and give them water. Cloſe by was a thick covert: where the Lacedæmonians, from the confidence he diſcovered, ſuppoſing an ambuſcade was planted, ventured not to croſs the river; but gave up the purſuit.

3. INSTEAD of the uſe of the target and ſhort ſpear, Philopæmen introduced into the Achaian army the uſe of the long ſpear and ſhield; as alſo the helmet, coat of mail, and greaves: and, inſtead of ſkirmiſhing with javelins, as light armed troops, he made them ſtand cloſe and firm to the battle. All elegancies in dreſs he likewiſe diſcouraged, and the luxuries of the table; obſerving, that military men ought to be above every thing, that was not abſolutely neceſſary. By theſe arts Philopæmen formed his army: nor did any general of his age lead to the field braver, or more hardy troops.

conſiderable time under water: but by ſprinkling ſand upon it, the violence of it was abated; and vinegar poured upon it effectually extinguiſhed it. Whether this very extraordinary property of vinegar in extinguiſhing fire may not ſuggeſt a uſeful hint in accidents of that kind on board of ſhip, is a ſubject perhaps not unworthy conſideration.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

ARATUS.

ARATUS made himſelf maſter of the Acrocorinthus,* which Antigonus had garriſoned, and left in charge of Perſeus the philoſopher, and Archelaus general of the forces, by the following ſtratagem. There were at Corinth four brothers, Syrians by nation; one of whom was Diocles, who belonged to the garriſon, that defended the fortreſs. The other three had been concerned in robbing the royal treaſury: and had ſold the gold to Æſia a money-changer at Sicyon; whom Aratus employed in money concerns. One of the brothers was frequently at this money-changer's houſe, and a conſtant gueſt at his entertainments. The diſcourſe one day turning upon the Acrocorinthus, he obſerved that in the precipices, on which it was built, he had diſcovered a cleft; through which a hollow way obliquely run, extending to the very walls. The money-changer told this to Aratus, who ſtudied by every means to cultivate Erginus's acquaintance: to whom he engaged to pay ſeven talents, whenever he ſhould be maſter of the Acrocorinthus. Erginus accepted the propoſal, and with his brothers undertook to put him in poſſeſſion of it. Preparations were accordingly made for the attack. Aratus poſted his army near, and ordered them to reſt on their arms. From thence taking with him four hundred picked men, in the night he entered the cleft, and purſued his way till he reached the walls: to which he applied the ladders, and inſtantly ſcaled them. As ſoon as the aſ-

* The importance of this fort at that time was ſuch, that Polybius aſcribes to this exploit of Aratus in gaining it the reſtoration of liberty to the Corinthians: as it engaged them to become a part of the Achæan government, and to unite in the general confederacy to reſiſt the intrigues and artful policy of Antigonus. See Pol. Book III. Chap. III.

ſault

ſault was known within the fortreſs, a deſperate action commenced: the moon ſometimes giving a momentary light, then, in paſſing under a cloud, again withdrawing it, and leaving the combatants to engage in the dark. Aratus's troops in the iſſue prevailed; and, as ſoon as the day broke, opened the gates to the reſt of the army. Aratus took Archelaus priſoner, but afterwards enlarged him; and gave him leave to paſs over to whatever place he pleaſed: Theophraſtus, who refuſed to leave the place, was ſlain: and Perſeus the philoſopher, ſeeing the fort taken, eſcaped to Cenchriæ; and from thence made his way to Antigonus.

CHAP. VI.

PYRRHUS.

PYRRHUS, after having been defeated by the Romans, and loſt his elephants, ſent an embaſſy to Antigonus, to ſolicit his aſſiſtance: which being refuſed, he directed the ambaſſadors to declare every where the contrary; that Antigonus had engaged to aſſiſt him with a powerful force. And thus were the Tarentines, all the Sicilians, and ſome of the Italian ſtates, who would otherwiſe have deſerted him, held together by the hope of Antigonus joining the confederacy.

2. PYRRHUS, having engaged in an expedition into Peloponneſus, received with great benignity all the Spartan embaſſies ſent by the Arcadians to treat of peace; and promiſed them to ſend his ſons into Sparta, to be inſtructed in the inſtitutes of Lycurgus. While the ambaſſadors in conſequence of theſe profeſſions, were magnifying the friendly and pacific diſpoſition of Pyrrhus, he arrived at the head of a powerful army in Sparta. And when the Spartans charged him with acting ſo contrary to his profeſſions; he with a ſmile replied, it is not your practice, when you have determined on a war, to appriſe your enemy of

of it. Therefore complain not of unfair treatment; if againſt the Spartans I have practiſed a Spartan ſtratagem.

3. PYRRHUS, before he engaged in a war, always endeavoured to bring the enemy to terms, by repreſenting to them the ill conſequences that muſt follow, by endeavouring to convince them of their own intereſt, by expoſing to them the miſeries that muſt attend the war, by urging every juſt and reaſonable motive againſt it.

CHAP. VII.

APOLLODORUS.

APOLLODORUS, the ſon of Caſſander, having been charged with deſigns againſt the liberty of the people, appeared in black, his wife and daughters habited in the ſame manner; and thus attended, ſurrendered himſelf to his judges, to diſpoſe of him as they pleaſed: who, ſeeing him ſo humiliated, were touched with compaſſion, and acquitted him. Not long after Apollodorus purſued his ſchemes with more ſucceſs; and poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty. The firſt act of his tyranny was exerted againſt the judges, that had acquitted him; whom he puniſhed with great cruelty: as not having been indebted for his life to their humanity, but to his own addreſs.

2. APOLLODORUS, when a private citizen at Caſſandria, ſo artfully guarded both his words and actions; that he was eſteemed the greateſt patriot, that lived. He ſigned the decree for the removal of the tyrant Lachares from Caſſandria; becauſe he was the friend and ally of King Antiochus, and ſuſpected of an intention to betray the liberties of the people to him. And when Theodotus propoſed a guard for his perſon; he was himſelf the firſt that oppoſed it. The Euridicæa, a feaſt in commemoration of the reſtoration of liberty to the Caſſandrenſians,

drenſians, was alſo of his inſtitution. And the ſoldiers, who refuſed to defend the fortreſs againſt the people, he procured to be made free of the city, and to have ſettlements allotted them in Pallene: that they might continue there, the guardians of the public liberty. And at all public meetings he was continually inveighing againſt deſpotiſm; as of all things that could happen to a people moſt to be dreaded. By theſe artifices he ſo effectually deceived the people, that at the very time when he had formed a conſpiracy for poſſeſſing himſelf of the ſovereignty, he was ſuppoſed to be the moſt determined foe to it. He had gained to his intereſts a banditti of ſlaves and mechanics, whom he privately ſummoned to a meeting; where he killed a youth, whoſe name was Callimeles, and had his entrails ſerved up; of which they all partook, and drank his blood mixed with wine: uniting themſelves in a horrid confederacy by theſe ſavage myſteries. By the aſſiſtance of theſe aſſociates, he poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty: and became the moſt cruel and bloody tyrant, with which not only Greece, but even Barbary was ever curſed.

CHAP. VIII.

ÆGYPTUS.

ÆGYPTUS, having been diſpatched by Mauſolus to Miletum, to aſſiſt a party there, who had engaged to betray the city to him, on his arrival found the conſpiracy was detected; and that he was in danger of being apprehended. He however made his eſcape to the ſhip: but ſeeing a party on the watch to prevent the veſſel from putting to ſea, he ſent a pilot on ſhore to enquire for Ægyptus; who deſired every one he ſaw, to ſeek him out, and ſend him down to the ſhip, which was ready to ſail. The party, that had been diſpatched to prevent the veſſel from ſailing, on hearing that Ægyptus was not on board, left the

the beach, and run different ways about the city in queſt of Ægyptus. As ſoon as the pilot returned to the ſhip; he ſlipped his cable, and got off to ſea.

CHAP. IX.

LEUCON.

LEUCON, when his treaſury was very low, iſſued a proclamation for a new coinage: and directed every one to carry in his money; and to receive the ſame in value ſtruck in a new die. A new die was accordingly ſtruck, and every piece of money bore a value double to that it poſſeſſed before. One half he kept for himſelf; and every individual received the ſame current value he gave in.

2. Leucon having had intimation of a conſpiracy being formed againſt his government by a ſtrong party of the citizens, and among them ſome of his own friends, aſſembled the merchants; and borrowed of them whatever ſums they could advance: upon pretence that, on payment of a ſtipulated ſum, the conſpirators would be diſcovered to him. Having readily ſupplied him with what he wanted, he took them to his palace; told them, that there really was a conſpiracy formed againſt him, and that he depended on them for his guards: for if his government was not ſecure, the money they had lent him was loſt. The merchants accordingly armed: and ſome attended as guards of his perſon, and ſome were poſted to defend the palace. By the aſſiſtance of theſe, and his particular friends, all who had been concerned in the conſpiracy were apprehended and ſlain: and, his government thus ſecured, he repaid the money.

3. In a war againſt the Heracleotæ, Leucon, having obſerved that ſome of the captains diſcovered a diſpoſition to revolt, ordered them to

be apprehended; and told them, ſome diſagreeable inſinuations had been thrown againſt them, but that for his part he had no doubt of their fidelity: however, in caſe the chance of war ſhould determine the victory in favour of his enemies, that no ſuſpicion on that account might corroborate the charge againſt them, he directed them for the preſent to retire from their employments; which he diſpoſed of to others. And their particular friends, as if through regard for them, he promoted to magiſtracies and civil employs in villages. As ſoon as the war was terminated, he obſerved that it was proper to make ſome enquiry into the charges, that had been obliquely urged againſt them; leſt the doubt, he might have ſeemed to expreſs of their fidelity, ſhould be eſteemed the effect of caprice. No ſooner had they appeared in court, attended by their friends; than, ſurrounding the place with an armed force, he ordered every man of them to be put to death.

4. The Heracleotæ, having made war on Leucon, advanced againſt him with a great fleet; and in the face of him landed, and committed various depredations. Obſerving his troops not to act with ſpirit againſt the enemy, with difficulty brought to the charge, and eaſily routed; he drew up his army to oppoſe the invaders, altering the arrangement of it, and poſting his heavy-armed troops in the firſt line, and in their rear the Scythians: with expreſs orders to theſe, if the heavy-armed troops gave way, to transfix them with their javelins. The ſeverity of theſe orders gave reſolution to the army: and put an end to the ravages of the enemy.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

ALEXANDER, General of the Guards.

ALEXANDER, who commanded the guards, that garriſoned the town and forts of Æolis, hired out of Ionia the moſt celebrated wreſtlers, Theander and Philoxenus muſicians, Callipedes and Nicoſtratus actors, and exhibited games to the people. The eminence of the ſeveral performers drew together a number of people from all the neighbouring cities. When the theatre was quite crowded, Alexander ſurrounded it with his own troops, and the Barbarians that were in his pay; and ſeiſed all the ſpectators with their wives and children. He meaned by this act no more than to raiſe a contribution on them; which he did in the ranſom he demanded: then gave up his command to Thibron; and left the country.

CHAP. XI.

ARISTIDES ELEATES.

DIONYSIUS having beſieged Caulonia, Ariſtides Eleates ſailed with twelve ſhips to relieve it: againſt whom Dionyſius advanced with fifteen ſail. Before ſo inferiour a force Ariſtides retreated: and, as the night came on, ordered torches to be lighted. Theſe he removed by degrees, lighting others in their ſtead; which he floated upon large corks: and tacking about, ſteered for Caulonia; while Dionyſius, amuſed with the lighted corks, ſo directed his courſe as to keep them in view, expecting to bring the enemy to an action in the morning.

CHAP. XII.

ALEXANDER, SON OF LYSIMACHUS.

ALEXANDER, the ſon of Lyſimachus and Macrides, formed a deſign to make himſelf maſter of Cotilium, a fortreſs in Phrygia. With that view he ſecretly poſted his army in a hollow way near the place: and diſguiſing himſelf in a mean Phrygian habit, with a cap on his head, and attended by two youths with bundles of wood on their ſhoulders, and a ſword concealed under their arms, he paſſed the gates unſuſpected by the guard, and entered the city. Then laying aſide his diſguiſe, he publickly ſhewed himſelf to the citizens; ſhaking them by the hand, and aſſuring them, that he was come to protect, and ſave the ſtate. The gates on this aſſurance in full ſecurity thrown open, the forces he had concealed, according to their inſtructions ruſhed in, and took poſſeſſion of Cotilium.

CHAP. XIII.

THE AMPHICTYONES.

THE Amphictyones, at the ſiege of Cyrrha, having diſcovered an aqueduct, that ſupplied the city with water, by the advice of Eurylochus, poiſoned the water with hellebore; a great quantity of which they procured from Anticyra. The Cyrrhæans, who made conſtant uſe of it, were attacked with violent cholics; and diſabled from duty. Under ſuch circumſtances the Amphictyones eaſily defeated them, and made themſelves maſters of the place.

CHAP. XIV.

THE SAMNITES.

THE Samnites entered into a treaty of peace with their enemies, ſanctioned by mutual oaths; on condition that they ſhould be permitted to take from the whole circuit of the Samnite walls one ſingle row of ſtones. The Samnites were exceedingly well ſatisfied with the terms; till they ſaw the enemy pick out the loweſt row, which in effect demoliſhed their walls, and left their city defenceleſs.

CHAP. XV.

THE CAMPANIANS.

THE Campanians made a truce with their enemies, on condition of their delivering up to them half their arms: in conſequence of which, they cut their arms in two; kept one half, and returned the other half to the owners of them.

CHAP. XIV.

THE CARTHAGINIANS.

THE Carthaginians, being blocked up by Dionyſius in a ſpot where they had no ſupply of water, diſpatched an embaſſy to him with propoſals of peace: to which he conſented on condition of their evacuating Sicily; and reimburſing him for the expences of the laſt war. The Carthaginian deputies agreed to accept the terms: but as their power

power did not extend ſo far, as to enable them to conclude the treaty without the authority of the admiral; they deſired leave to ſhift their camp to the place where the admiral lay, when the treaty, clearer all obſtacles, might be ratified. Dionyſius, contrary to the advice of Leptines, conſented to their requeſt. As ſoon as they had changed their ground, they ſent back the ambaſſadors of Dionyſius, and refuſed to conclude the treaty.

2. When the Carthaginians had invaded Sicily, in order to be ſupplied from Libya with proviſions and naval ſtores in the moſt expeditious manner, they made two hour-glaſſes exactly of the ſame deſcription, and drew round each of them an equal number of circles. On one of thoſe circles was engraved, "A want of ſhips of war;" on another, "A want of ſtore-ſhips;" on another, "A want of gold;" on another, "Of machines;" on another again, "Of corn;" on another, "Of cattle;" "Of arms;" "Of infantry;" and "Of cavalry." The circles in this manner all filled up, one of theſe hour-glaſſes the forces kept with them in Sicily; and ſent the other to Carthage: directing the Carthaginians, when they ſaw the ſecond torch raiſed, to ſend the particulars deſcribed in the ſecond circle; when the third, thoſe in the third circle; and ſo on. By this means they received a ready ſupply of whatever they wanted.

3. The Carthaginians for an expedition againſt Sicily fitted out a fleet, conſiſting of ſhips of war and tranſports: of which Dionyſius having received intelligence with a numerous fleet oppoſed them. As ſoon as the Carthaginians diſcovered the enemy; they drew up their ſtore-ſhips well-manned in a circle, with a ſpace between ſhip and ſhip ſufficient for the eaſy paſſage of a ſhip of war: and in the middle of the circle they poſted their triremes. And thus formed, while the ſtore-ſhips prevented the enemy from breaking in upon them in line of battle,

battle, the triremes briſkly puſhing between them attacked them ſingly; ſunk many of them, and ſo crippled the reſt, that they could no longer maintain the engagement.

4. In their war with Hiero, the Carthaginians ſailed by night to Meſſene; and anchored not far from Agrigentum. In the harbour the enemy had a number of ſhips of war, as well as ſtore-ſhips: and at the mouth of it were ſtationed guard ſhips. The Carthaginian admiral ordered the captain of one of the ſwifteſt ſailing triremes, to paſs the mouth of the haven; and, in caſe the enemy purſued him, to ſtand out to ſea, and draw them as far as he could after him. Accordingly as ſoon as he was diſcovered by the guard ſhips, ſuppoſing him to have been ſent to look into the harbour, they ſlipped their anchors, and gave him chaſe with all the ſail they could make. The Carthaginians, when they ſaw the guard ſhips out at ſea, and at a ſufficient diſtance for their purpoſe, with the reſt of their force ſailed immediately into the harbour; burned the ſhips of war, which were riding at anchor: cut out ſeveral of the ſtore-ſhips, and carried them off.

5. The Carthaginians, finding the Romans had a much greater force in Sicily than themſelves, ſought to divide it. And for that purpoſe ſome of the citizens concerted a pretended conſpiracy, and propoſed to Cn. Cornelius the Roman general, to betray Lipara to him, an iſland contiguous to Sicily. Cornelius liſtened to their propoſals, and ordered one half of his fleet with a military force on board, to ſail to Lipara. The Carthaginians then put to ſea; and under eaſy ſail advancing towards the Roman fleet, diſpatched an embaſſy to the Roman general, ſuppliantly deſiring a peace. The ambaſſadors, being admitted to Cornelius, requeſted him to go on board the ſhip of the Carthaginian admiral, who was at that time exceedingly ill; in order to conclude the treaty in perſon with them in the cleareſt and moſt unequivocal terms. The Roman conſented: and the Libyans no ſooner

ſaw

ſaw the enemy's general in their power, than they attacked them in full force, and obtained an eaſy victory.

CHAP. XVII.

THE AMBRACIOTÆ.

AT the ſiege of Ambracia the Romans, having loſt great numbers, reſolved on an attempt to ſurpriſe the place by undermining the walls: and had made ſome progreſs before the Ambraciotæ diſcovered their operations. But the quantity of earth thrown up betraying to the beſieged their deſign, they with equal exertions by countermining endeavoured to defeat it. At the extremity of the enemy's works they ſunk a deep foſs: in which they ſo diſpoſed thin plates of braſs, that the noiſe made by the Romans whenever they fell into it was heard by the centinel; and armed with a long ſpear, which they call Sariſſa,* the beſieged entered the foſs and engaged them. But theſe ſubterraneous conflicts in a narrow dark paſſage producing no great advantage, the Ambraciotæ had recourſe to another ſtratagem. They conſtructed a veſſel with a mouth as wide as the entrance into the foſs; and perforating the bottom introduced into it an iron pipe, which they filled with ſmall feathers, and ſet them on fire, ſtopping up the mouth of the pipe with ſaw-duſt: which was ſupplied with fire from another braſs veſſel fitted to it for the purpoſe. The enemy's works thus filled with a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſmoak and unbearable ſtench, they were forced to abandon their ſubterraneous enterpriſe.

* The Sariſſa was a peculiar kind of ſpear from fourteen to ſixteen cubits in length; which was particularly uſed by the Macedonians, and introduced firſt into the Achaian army by Philopœmen. See Chap. IV. Strat. III. of this book.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE PHOCENSIANS.

THE Phocenſians, hemmed in at Parnaſſus, took the advantage of a moonlight night; and pouring down upon the enemy, their arms gleaming, and themſelves actuated by deſperation, with ſuch a panic ſtruck the Theſſalians; that ſome ſuppoſing them a ſupernatural appearance, others an acceſſion of force in aid of the Phocenſians, made ſo poor a reſiſtance, that they ſuffered an entire defeat: and four thouſand Theſſalians were left dead on the ſpot.

2. As ſoon as it was known in the city, that the Theſſalians had invaded Phocis; they ſunk a deep trench before the moſt acceſſible part of the walls, into which they threw pieces of broken pots and vaſes, and over them raiſed a ſtratum of earth: which, when the enemy's cavalry advanced upon it, gave way; and moſt of the horſemen, as well as horſes, were killed.

CHAP. XIX.

THE PLATÆANS.

THE Platæans, who had ſome Theban priſoners in their power, when the Thebans invaded Platæis, ſent an ambaſſador to them: declaring, if they did not immediately evacuate the country, they would put every priſoner to death. The Thebans perſiſted in their ravages; and the Platæans put their menaces in execution.

2. THE Platæans, when beſieged by the Lacedæmonians, ſallied out in the night and attacked the Spartan camp. The Lacedæmonians raiſ-

ed the hoſtile torch,* ſoliciting the Thebans to their aſſiſtance. The Platæans from the city on the other hand raiſed the friendly torch: that the Thebans in ſuſpenſe between the oppoſite lights, might decline marching to their aſſiſtance; till they were with more certainty informed, that they wanted it.

3. When the Platæans were cloſely beſieged by the Lacedæmonians and Thebans, and were at a loſs how to convey to Athens an account of their ſituation; a body of two hundred men offered themſelves on that ſervice: determined, if they were diſcovered by the enemy, to fall in the attempt, or cut their way through them. For this enterpriſe a dark and ſtormy night was choſen: when the reſt of the citizens mounted the ramparts and attacked the enemy's works. To the quarter, where the attack was directed, the attention of the beſiegers was of courſe attracted: while the two hundred mounted the walls in an oppoſite quarter; and unobſerved were let down by ladders on the other ſide. Then, not taking the direct road to Athens, by which, if the enemy ſhould have had any information of their attempt they would be ſure to have purſued them; they took the road to Thebes. And ſo it accordingly happened: the Lacedæmonians purſued them by Cithæron; while the Platæans, turning a little out of the ſtraight Theban road, reached Thebes; and from thence eſcaped ſafe to Athens.

* The ſignals, by which notices were communicated to confederate powers, were by ſmoak in the day; and in the night by torches. And thoſe by torches were of two kinds; the hoſtile, and the friendly torch: which were raiſed from ſome place of eminence, generally from a fort or tower, in order to be the more conſpicuous; and their intent was to ſignify the approach of friends or foes. The marks of diſtinction between the one and the other were, that the friendly torch was held fixed and ſteady; the hoſtile torch was toſſed and brandiſhed about in the air.

CHAP. XX.

THE CORCYRÆANS.

THE Athenians had marched out againſt the Corcyræan fugitives, who had poſted themſelves on mount Iſtones. Finding it in vain to make any oppoſition, they delivered up their arms, and ſurrendered themſelves to the diſcretion of the Athenians: who accepted their ſubmiſſion, and granted them a truce; on condition that any attempt to eſcape ſhould be conſidered as a breach of it. The Corcyræans, apprehenſive leſt the Athenians ſhould treat them with too great humanity, privately adviſed them to make their eſcape to the Argives, and furniſhed them with a veſſel for the purpoſe; in order to induce them to infringe the truce, that was granted them. After that attempt the Athenians delivered them up to the Corcyræans, as truce-breakers: who put every man of them to death.

CHAP. XXI.

THE ÆGESTIANS.

THE Ægeſtians, with an aſſurance of large ſubſidies, ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the Athenians: who diſpatched ambaſſadors to them, to ſee what proſpect there was of the ſubſidies being paid. The Ægeſtians in the mean time borrowed from the neighbouring cities gold and ſilver, in whatever ſhape and quantity they could obtain it; and with it magnificently decorated the temples of their gods, and their private houſes. The ambaſſadors, obſerving ſuch a profuſion of wealth, reported it at Athens; and aſſiſtance was immeditely ſent them.

CHAP. XXII.

THE LOCRIANS.

THE Italian Locrians entered into a treaty with the Sicilians, which they confirmed by an oath. Under their cloaks they carried upon their ſhoulders heads of garlick, and under their feet they put earth into their ſhoes: then ſwore, that they would preſerve inviolate to them the fidelity of their ſtate, as long as they trod the earth they walked on, or carried their heads on their ſhoulders. The next day, throwing away their garlick, and the earth from their ſhoes, they made a general maſſacre of the Sicilians; thrown off their guard, and ſecure in the obligation of the oath the Locrians had taken.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE CORINTHIANS.

THE Corinthians, having promiſed aſſiſtance to the Syracuſans againſt the Athenians, and received information, that the latter with twenty-ſix ſail had anchored near Naupactum, and ſerved as a fleet of obſervation, equipped eighteen ſail, with orders to ſail to Panermus, and ſhew themſelves to the Athenian fleet. And while that ſquadron amuſed the enemy, a number of Corinthian tranſports, with men and military ſtores ſailed from Peloponneſus to the aſſiſtance of the Syracuſans, and arrived ſafe at Syracuſe.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE LAMPSACENIANS.

THE Lampſacenians and Parians, having a diſpute about the boundaries of their reſpective territories, agreed at an early hour in the morning each to diſpatch a certain number of perſons from one city to the other; and that wherever the two parties met, that ſpot ſhould be the common boundary of both their territories. The fiſhermen, who were employed on the road the Parians were to travel, which was by the ſea, the Lampſacenians engaged to offer a ſacrifice that morning to Neptune, to broil fiſh, and make libations of wine; and to requeſt the Parians, as they paſſed by, in honour of the god to partake with them of the ſacrifice. The Parians complied; and one mouthful of fiſh, and one glaſs of wine, induced them to take a ſecond, and ſo on; till ſo much time was loſt, that the Lampſacenians arrived firſt at Hermæum: which is ſeventy furlongs from Parium, and from Lampſacum two hundred. Such was the extent of territory, which the Lampſacenians by this device gained from the Parians; Hermæum being admitted as the boundary between the two ſtates.

CHAP. XXV.

THE CHALCEDONIANS.

A TRUCE of five days was agreed on between the Chalcedonians and Bizantines, who were at war; while a congreſs of each ſtate was conſtituted to treat of conditions of peace. Three days were ſpent in fruitleſs negotiations; when the Chalcedonians on the fourth pretended buſineſs

buſineſs of importance obliged them to return home. This being allowed them, the night was ſpent in equipping their ſhips, and the next day they attacked the Bizantines; who thought of nothing leſs than the re-commencement of hoſtilities, the term of the truce being then unexpired.

[*Here follows a Chaſm, deficient in twenty-five Stratagems, attributed to nineteen Generals; which no Manuſcript hath yet been diſcovered to ſupply.*]

CHAP. XLV.

SOLYSON.

SOLYSON, the ſon of Calliteles, a man in great eſteem among the Samians, was appointed general, in a war againſt the Ætolians. Amidſt the preparations for war, the feſtival in honour of Juno, which ſhould have been celebrated in the temple of that goddeſs, a little diſtant from the city, was neglected: when Solyſon obſerved, that it was not the duty of a general to neglect the honour of the gods; that to forfeit their aſſiſtance, was to loſe his beſt ally; and having it, he ſhould meet his enemies with ſuperiour confidence. The Samians applauded the piety and true fortitude he diſcovered, immediately prepared for the celebration of the feſtival, and aſſembled at the temple of Juno. Solyſon in the night entered the city, introduced into it the ſailors from the ſhips, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of Samos.

CHAP. XLVI.

ALEXANDER.

ALEXANDER the Theſſalian, previous to a naval engagement, ſtationed on the decks a number of expert markſmen, who were furniſhed with a quantity of ſtones and darts, and ordered to annoy the enemy with a volley of them, whenever they came within their reach: which fell like a ſhower upon the ſailors, and ſo diſabled many of them, as to render them incapable of their duty.

CHAP. XLVII.

THRASYBULUS.

WHEN Halyattes had blockaded Miletum, and expected to make himſelf maſter of the city by ſtarving the people out; he diſpatched a herald to conclude a truce with Thraſybulus, tyrant of the Mileſians, till he ſhould have built the temple of Aſſeſian Minerva. Thraſybulus immediately ordered the citizens to bring into the market all the corn they had, and to engage each other in great entertainments. The herald reported to Halyattes the appearance of plenty he had obſerved; who, from his repreſentation ſuppoſing the Mileſians amply provided with proviſions, raiſed the ſiege.

CHAP. XLVIII.

MENTOR.

MENTOR, having got Hermæus into his power, wrote letters in his name to all the cities, that were under his authority; ordering them to receive as their governor the perſon, whom he had charged with the delivery of the reſpective letters: which he ſealed with Hermæus's ſeal. Knowing his ſeal, in obedience to the mandate of the letters, the people ſurrendered their ſeveral cities into the hands of Mentor's officers.

CHAP. XLIX.

ANAXAGORAS.

ANAXAGORAS, Codrus, and Diodorus, ſons of Echeonax, ſlew Hegeſias, tyrant of Epheſus: when Philoxenus, governor of Ionia under Alexander, demanded them to be given up by the Epheſians. But the people not complying with his requiſition, he entered the town with a body of troops; apprehended the three brothers, threw them into chains, and impriſoned them in the tower of Sardis. After a long and ſevere impriſonment, with a file, that had been conveyed to them by a friend, they liberated themſelves from their chains; and, habited in ſervile dreſſes, eſcaped as ſervants out of the priſon in the night: then cutting their cloaths into long pieces, they uſed them inſtead of ropes; and let themſelves down by them from the walls. Diodorus unfortunately fell down from the top of the walls; and laming himſelf, was obliged to lie where he fell: till he was taken up by the Lydians, and ſent to Alexander to be puniſhed according to his pleaſure. But Alexander dying at Babylon,

lon, he was ſent to Perdiccas at Epheſus, to take his trial there. In the mean time Anexagoras and Codrus, who had got clear off, arrived at Athens: and, hearing of Alexander's death, returned to Epheſus; and ſet their brother at liberty.

CHAP. L.

PINDAR.

WHILE Crœſus lay before Epheſus, the tower, which was called the traitreſs, fell down; and the capture of the place became inevitable. When Pindar, who poſſeſſed the ſovereignty, recommended to the Epheſians, to run a rope round the walls and gates, faſtening it to the pillars of the temple of Diana; and to conſecrate the whole city to the goddeſs. Crœſus in honour of the deity ſpared the city, as placed under her immediate protection: preſented the Epheſians with their liberty, and made an alliance with them.

CHAP. LI.

THERON.

THERON, who kept privately in pay a body of the Agrigentines, ready on all occaſions to obey his orders, being in want of money to make good to them their arrears, ſeiſed on a ſum that had been raiſed for the erection of a temple to Minerva: and by this device he got it into his poſſeſſion. He obſerved to them the work had gone on ſlowly, and propoſed to have the building contracted for at a certain ſum, and a time ſtipulated for the completion of the work. The citizens thought the propoſal a very good one: agreed to let out the work, and lodged

the money raiſed for the purpoſe in the hands of Gorgus, Theron's ſon. As ſoon as the money had paſſed into Theron's hands, inſtead of employing architects, ſtone-cutters, and other artificers, he converted the people's money againſt themſelves, paid his men, formed them into a body of guards; and by their aſſiſtance poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of Agrigentum.

CHAP. LII.

SISYPHUS.

SISYPHUS, having ſuſpected Autolycus of frequently ſtealing his oxen, ſhod them with lead, inſcribing characters on the ſhoes to this effect: "Autolycus is a thief." Autolycus, according to his uſual practice ſtole them away in the night. Siſyphus the next morning traced them to the paſtures of Autolycus; and ſhewed the neighbouring farmers the footſteps of the oxen, which declared Autolycus's theft.

CHAP. LIII.

AGNON.

AGNON conceived a deſign of planting an Attic colony at that part of the river Strymon, which is called the NINE-WAYS. But againſt the attempt there exiſted this oracle:

Athenians, why of late attempt to raiſe
The ſtructure proud, and colonize NINE-WAYS?
Vain the attempt, unauthoriſed by Heaven;
Dire the decree, that rigid Fate hath given

Againſt

Againſt the deed: till from the ſilent tomb
At Troy the ſtubble of old Rheſus come
To join its parent ſoil. Then, then proceed:
And Fate ſhall give the act a glorious meed.

In conſequence of this declaration of the god, Agnon diſpatched ſome men to Troy, in the night to open the monument of Rheſus, and to bring away his bones: which they bundled up in a purple robe, and brought to the Strymon. But the Barbarians, who poſſeſſed the country, would not permit him to croſs the river. Agnon not in a condition to effect a paſſage over it by force, concluded a truce with them for three days; who retired to their own reſidence, leaving him, for the time ſtipulated between them, quiet in his poſt. In the night he paſſed the Strymon with his army; carrying with him the bones of Rheſus, which he buried at the river ſide: and there he intrenched himſelf with a foſſe and paliſades; reſting in the day, and working at the fortifications every night. In three nights his works were compleated: when the Barbarians returned; and, finding in what manner he had during their abſence employed himſelf, charged him with an infringement of the truce. "Of that, 'replied Agnon,' I am perfectly clear: the truce was for three days inaction, which I religiouſly obſerved: the works, you ſee, I erected in the intermediate nights." Such was the origin of the city, which Agnon built on the NINE-WAYS, and called it Amphipolis.

CHAP. LIV.

AMPHIRETUS.

AMPHIRETUS the Acanthian was taken by pirates, and carried into Lemnos: where he was kept in cloſe confinement, the pirates expecting a very conſiderable ſum for his ranſom. He took little ſuſtenance, but drank vermilion mixed with ſalt water; which gave a tinge to his ſtools, that made his captors believe he was ſeiſed with the bloody flux: and being afraid leſt his death ſhould rob them of the expected ranſom, they releaſed him from his confinement; hoping that exerciſe might reſtore him to his health. But no ſooner did he find himſelf at liberty, than he made his eſcape in the night; and getting into a fiſhing-boat, arrived ſafe at Acanthum.



BOOK VII.

PROOEMIUM.

THIS Seventh Book of Stratagems I addreſs to your moſt ſacred majeſties, Antoninus and Verus: in which you will obſerve, that the minds even of Barbarians are competent to military ſtratagems, deceptions, and devices. And you will conſequently ſee reaſon, not to hold them in too great contempt yourſelves; and to give the ſame caution in charge to your generals. On the contrary, there is nothing againſt which they can be required more ſtrictly to guard, than devices, wiles, and deception: in which the Barbarians excel much more, than in military proweſs. Nor will any thing more effectually ſecure them againſt their devices, than a ſettled diſtruſt of their promiſes and profeſſions. To that uniting Roman valour, we ſhall be ſtill more ſuperiour to them, if we further add a knowledge of thoſe ſtratagems they have been uſed to employ.

CHAP. I.

DIOCLES.

DIOCLES the Median in this manner poſſeſſed himſelf of the ſovereignty of the Medes. They were a vagrant people, and had no ſettled habitations: had no cities, no laws, knew no principles of equity; but plundered each other of whatever the one wanted, and the other poſſeſſed. Diocles gave laws to his neighbours, and endeavoured to inculcate on their minds the principles of juſtice. They were delighted with

with his regulations, and paid implicit obedience to his decrees. His name ſoon became famous among the Medes; and to determine their differences, numbers continually reſorted to him, as a moſt juſt and upright judge. As ſoon as his eminence and reputation had conciliated to him univerſal eſteem, he obtained guards to ſecure him from the injuries, to which his determinations might expoſe him. By the aſſiſtance of theſe in the night he filled his little habitation with ſtones; which he ſhewed the Medes in the day, and pretended to have been thrown at him, to the great danger of his life, by thoſe againſt whom he had determined cauſes. The people were enraged at the treatment, with which he had ſo undeſervedly met, and for the ſecurity of his perſon allotted him a reſidence on an impregnable eminence; appointed him a guard, and directed his table to be ſupplied from the ſacred revenues. This guard he continued every day increaſing: and in the end, inſtead of judge, became a king.

CHAP. II.

ALYATTES.

THE Cimmerians, a people of uncommon ſize, having made war on Alyattes; he took the field againſt them, and directed his men to carry with them to battle a number of large fierce dogs: who, being ſet on by their maſters, fell upon the Barbarians, as they would on a parcel of wild beaſts; tore many of them, ſo as to diſable them from action, and put others to flight.

2. To weaken the Colophonians in their cavalry, in which they were very powerful, Alyattes entered into an alliance with them. And when they ſerved under him, in the diſtribution of preſents he always particularly diſtinguiſhed the horſe. At laſt when he lay at Sardis, he kept

kept a ſumptuous table for them, and appointed them double pay. The cavalry, who were encamped without the city, no ſooner heard of their pay being doubled, than delivering their horſes to the care of the horſe-keepers, they inſtantly reſorted to the city, in great eagerneſs to receive their doubled pay. Alyattes on a ſudden ordered the gates to be ſhut, and with a body of armed troops ſurrounded and cut them to pieces; then mounted his own men on the Colophonian horſes.

CHAP. III.

PSAMMETICHUS.

TEMANTHES king of Ægypt, who was ſlain by Pſammetichus, conſulted the oracle concerning his ſucceſs in his future views on the kingdom: which directed him to beware of the cocks. Pſammetichus, who was very intimate with Pigres the Carian, as ſoon as he was informed by him that the Carians were the firſt who wore plumes of feathers on their helmets, immediately conceived the meaning of the oracle; took into his ſervice a great number of Carians, and advanced againſt Memphis. When encamping at the temple of Iſis, about five furlongs from the city; an engagement was fought, in which Temanthes was defeated. From theſe Carians a part of Memphis is called Caromemphis.

CHAP. IV.

AMASIS.

AMASIS in an engaement with the Arabians placed behind the Ægyptians the ſtatues of the gods they held in moſt honour and veneration;

neration; that they might be induced with the greater alacrity to face danger: ſuppoſing themſelves under the immediate eye of their gods, who would not betray them, or leave them in the hands of their enemies.

CHAP. V.

MIDAS.

MIDAS, pretending that he was going to perform a ſolemn ſacrifice to the great gods, led out the Phrygians in the night as in proceſſion, with flutes, and timbrels, and cymbals: each of them at the ſame time privately carrying ſwords. The citizens all left their houſes to ſee the proceſſion: when the muſical performers drew their ſwords, ſlew the ſpectators as they came out into the ſtreets, took poſſeſſion of their houſes, and inveſted Midas with ſovereignty.

CHAP. VI.

CYRUS.

IN three ſeveral engagements with the Medes Cyrus was each time defeated. A fourth battle with them he determined to hazard at Paſargadæ; where the Perſians had left their wives and children. There he was again defeated: but the Perſians flying to the city, and there ſeeing their wives and children, they were ſtruck with the reflection of what they muſt ſuffer from a victorious enemy, rallied, and attacked the Medes, who in their eager purſuit had loſt all order; and obtained ſo deciſive a victory, that the Medes never after ventured to face Cyrus in the field.

2. AGREE-

2. AGREEABLE to a treaty, into which Cyrus had entered with Crœſus, he ſtruck his tents, and from Sardis led off his forces. But as ſoon as the night came on he returned, attacked the city unprepared for a ſiege, and took it by ſtorm.

3. AFTER Cyrus had made himſelf maſter of Sardis, and Crœſus ſtill held out in the fort, in expectation of aſſiſtance from Greece; he ordered the Sardian priſoners, the friends and relations of the beſieged, to be bound, and expoſed before them: a herald at the ſame time proclaiming, if the beſieged ſurrendered to Cyrus the fort, they ſhould receive their friends and relations ſafe and without ranſom; but if they perſiſted in holding it againſt him, he would hang every man before their eyes. To ſave their friends therefore, they choſe rather to give up the fort than wait the iſſue of the precarious hopes with which Crœſus had flattered himſelf of aſſiſtance from the ſtates of Greece.

4. AFTER the defeat of Crœſus, and his captivity, the Lydians having again revolted, Cyrus, who was himſelf intent on an expedition againſt Babylon, diſpatched Mazares the Mede into Lydia; with orders, as ſoon as he had reduced the country into ſubjection, to take from them their arms and horſes, oblige them to wear women's dreſſes, and to ſuffer them to entertain themſelves neither in hurling the javelin, in horſemanſhip, nor in any martial exerciſes: but to oblige them all to ſpin, and ſing, and purſue only female amuſements. And by theſe means their minds became ſo daſtardiſed and effeminate; that the Lydians, once a very warlike people, became of all the Barbarians the moſt puſillanimous.

5. CYRUS, at the ſiege of Babylon, after he had compleated the channel, through which he intended to turn the Euphrates, that then run through the city, marched his army to a conſiderable diſtance: which induced the Babylonians to conclude, that he had given up all hopes of carrying the place; and they therefore became more remiſs in their de-

fence of it. But ſuddenly diverting the courſe of the river, he ſecretly marched his army through the old channel; and, while the Babylonians thought themſelves in perfect ſecurity, made himſelf maſter of the place.

6. When Cyrus, in an engagement with Crœſus, obſerved that the great dependance of the Lydian was in his cavalry; to render them uſeleſs, he oppoſed in front againſt them a number of camels: the nature of which animals is ſuch, that horſes can bear neither the ſight nor ſmell of them. The horſes accordingly became ungovernable, turned about, and fled; throwing down the Lydians in their flight, and breaking their ranks: ſo that victory declared for Cyrus, before he engaged.

7. To induce the Perſians to throw off the Median yoke, Cyrus made uſe of this device. He pointed out to them a barren, briery ſpot; and bade them clear and cultivate it: a work, which with great labour and fatigue they effected. The next day he ordered them to bathe and clean themſelves, and attend him: when he received them with a ſumptuous entertainment. After the day had been thus luxurioufly ſpent, he aſked them, which of the two days they liked beſt. To which they replied; this day was as much preferable to the former, as happineſs is to miſery. Happineſs then, ſaid Cyrus, it is in your own power to obtain. Emancipate yourſelves from the ſervitude of the Medes. The Perſians, ſtruck with the greatneſs of the propoſal, revolt, and create Cyrus their king. Under whoſe auſpices, they not only cruſhed the power of the Medes; but acquired to themſelves the empire of all Aſia.

8. When Cyrus laid ſiege to Babylon; the Babylonians, who had within themſelves great plenty of proviſions of all kinds, derided the enterpriſe. But he ſoon diſcovered the quarter where to attack them: and turned the river Euphrates, whoſe natural courſe was through the town, into a neighbouring lake. Their ſupplies of water thus cut off, they had no alternative; but to ſubmit to Cyrus, or to die with thirſt.

9. Cyrus,

9. CYRUS, after having been defeated by the Medes, retreated to Paſargadæ; when finding the Perſians in great numbers revolted to the enemy, he informed his army that the next day he ſhould receive from fœderal powers that were hoſtile to the Medes a re-inforcement of a hundred thouſand men: take therefore, ſaid he, my lads, every man his faggot, to welcome your allies. This aſſurance of aſſiſtance the Perſian deſerters communicated to the Medes. And as ſoon as night came on, Cyrus ordered every man to light his faggot. The Medes, ſeeing a great number of fires burning, concluded that the auxiliaries were arrived; and, inſtead of purſuing the conquered foe, thought it expedient, in their turn to retreat.

10. AT the ſiege of Sardis Cyrus conſtructed machines of wood, that were as high as the walls: and placed ſtatues on them, in Perſian dreſſes, with their beards on, quivers on their ſhoulders, and bows in their hands. And theſe he advanced in the night ſo cloſe to the walls, that they ſeemed to be above the fort. Early in the morning in a different quarter Cyrus begun his attack: againſt which the whole force that was in the town was immediately directed. When the ſtatues on the oppoſite quarter being accidentally diſcovered, a general cry enſued: and univerſal fear poſſeſſed the beſieged; as if the fort was in the hands of the enemy. Throwing open their gates, each made his eſcape in the beſt manner he could; and Cyrus became maſter of Sardis at diſcretion.

CHAP. VII.

HARPAGUS.

HARPAGUS, to convey a letter privately to Cyrus, paunched a hare, and in the belly ſewed up the letter: the bearer, equipped

with hunter's nets, delivered the hare ſafe; paſſing the guards of the roads without ſuſpicion.

CHAP. VIII.

CROESUS.

CROESUS, finding himſelf diſappointed of the auxiliaries which the Greeks had promiſed him, choſe out ſome of the ableſt and ſtouteſt Lydians; and armed them in the Græcian manner. Unaccuſtomed to the arms of Greece, Cyrus's men were at a loſs how either to attack, or to guard againſt them. The clang of the ſpears upon the ſhields ſtruck them with terrour: and the ſplendour of the brazen ſhields ſo terrified the horſes, that they could not be brought to the charge. By this ſtratagem Cyrus was defeated, and made a truce with Crœſus for three months.

2. CROESUS, having been defeated by Cyrus in Cappadocia, in order to make good his retreat, ordered his men to carry with them as much wood as they conveniently could. This they depoſited in a narrow defile, through which Crœſus led his forces, and purſued his march all night with what expedition he could: leaving ſome of his light horſe, as ſoon as day appeared, to ſet the wood on fire. By this means Crœſus effected his retreat; Cyrus being by the fire greatly impeded in his purſuit.

CHAP. IX.

CAMBYSES.

WHEN Cambyſes inveſted Peluſium, as being the entrance into Ægypt, the Ægyptians with great reſolution defended it: advancing formidable

formidable machines againſt the beſiegers; and from their catapults throwing darts, ſtones, and fire. Againſt the deſtructive ſhowers thus diſcharged upon him Cambyſes ranged before his front line, dogs, ſheep, cats, Ibiſes,* and whatever animals the Ægyptians hold ſacred. The fear of hurting the animals, which they regard with veneration, inſtantly checked their operations: Cambyſes took Peluſium; and thus opened himſelf a paſſage into Ægypt.

CHAP. X.

OEBARES.

AFTER the extinction of the Magi, who had uſurped the government of Perſia, Darius and ſeven other Perſian peers became competitors for the empire: between whom it was amicably agreed thus to ſettle their pretenſions. They engaged at a particular hour, to meet on horſeback at a place fixed on for the purpoſe without the city; and that he, whoſe horſe neighed firſt, ſhould be king. OEbares, Darius's groom, as ſoon as he was appriſed of the determination, the day before the conteſt brought his horſe to the place appointed; and there introduced to him a mare: then took the horſe back to the ſtable. The next morning each mounted his horſe, and met at the ground according to agreement: when Darius's horſe, recollecting the place, and his enjoyment there, inſtantly neighed for his mare. The reſt of the peers immediately diſmounted, made their obedience to Darius, and ſaluted him king of Perſia.

* The Ibis is a kind of ſtork, which feeds upon ſerpents.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

DARIUS.

DARIUS having taken the field againſt the Scythians, when both armies were ready to engage, a hare roſe from her ſeat, and run cloſe by the Scythian phalanx: while ſeveral of the Scythians purſued it. Darius obſerved on the occaſion, that this was not the time to engage; when the Scythians felt their ſuperiority ſo forcibly, that they could purſue a hare in front of the Perſian army: and accordingly ordered his trumpets to ſound a retreat.

2. WHEN Darius and the ſeven Perſian chiefs agreed to fall upon the Magi in the night; in order to know each other in the dark, he propoſed to them to wear the button, that faſtens the tiara behind, on their forehead; that feeling the button, they might know their friends.

3. DARIUS was the firſt, that impoſed taxes on the people. And to remove the odium of ſuch a meaſure from himſelf, he directed the peers in their reſpective provinces to raiſe them. They according to their orders levied very high duties: which Darius took; but reſerving to himſelf only half, he remitted the other half to the people.

4. DARIUS undertook an expedition into Scythia: but finding himſelf unable to gain any advantages there, and his proviſion likewiſe running ſhort, he began to think of a retreat. To make it with the leaſt loſs, by concealing his deſign from the enemy, he directed his tents to be left ſtanding, juſt as they had been for ſome time before. And in them were many wounded ſoldiers, aſſes, mules, and dogs; and a great number of fires were lighted: which thoſe that were left behind had orders conſtantly in the night to kindle. The Scythians ſeeing the fires, and the tents ſtanding, and hearing the confuſed noiſe of the animals, ſup-

ſuppoſed the Perſians quietly encamped; when they had effectually ſecured their retreat. As ſoon as Darius's movement was known in the Scythian camp, they purſued him as briſkly as they could: but he was too far out of their reach, to be overtaken.

5. When Darius laid ſiege to Chalcedon, the Chalcedonians neglected to make thoſe exertions, which the force of ſo formidable an enemy required; relying upon the ſtrength of their walls, and their great ſtore of proviſions. Nor did Darius on the other hand make any attack upon the walls; but contented himſelf with ravaging at large the country round: pretending that he waited for an acceſſion of force, before he attempted any thing directly againſt the city. But while the whole attention of the Chalcedonians was employed upon their walls, which continuing ſafe, they apprehended they had nothing to fear; the Perſians from a mountain called Aphaſium, diſtant about ten furlongs from the city, opened a mine: which they continued as far as the forum. As ſoon as they reached that ſpot, which they conjectured they had, from the roots of olive trees, which grew there; they waited the approach of the night: when they entered the forum, and without the loſs of a man became maſters of the city; while the Chalcedonians were wholly intent on the defence of their walls.

6. Darius, in an expedition againſt the Saccæ, found himſelf in danger of being incloſed by three armies. Advancing therefore with all expedition againſt that, which was neareſt to him, he engaged and defeated it. And habiting his men in the dreſſes and arms of the Saccians, he marched againſt another army of the Saccæ, advancing ſlowly and ſecurely as it were to meet their friends. But the Perſians, according to their orders, no ſooner came within ſpear's length of them; than, inſtead of friendly ſalutations, they fell upon them, and cut them to pieces. Thus victorious over two diviſions of the enemy, he advanced againſt

againſt the third; who, having learned the fate of the other two, ſubmitted to him without hazarding a battle.

7. The Ægyptians, on account of the cruelties exerciſed by Ornander their governor, having revolted; to reduce them to obedience, Darius himſelf marched through the deſart of Arabia, and arrived at Memphis: juſt at the time, when the Ægyptians were commemorating the loſs of Apis. He immediately ordered proclamation to be made, that he would himſelf give a hundred talents of gold to the man, that ſhould produce Apis. Struck with the ſo great piety of their prince, they took a deciſive part againſt the revolters, and entirely devoted themſelves to the intereſts of Darius.

8. Darius having invaded the Saccæ; their three kings, Sacephares, Homarges, and Thamyris, had retired in conſultation upon the meaſures proper to be taken in the preſent emergency of their affairs. When a certain ſtable-keeper, Riſaces by name, was introduced to them, and propoſed himſelf to deſtroy the Perſian force: if they would pledge themſelves to him by oath, to give to his children and family all the horſes and treaſures, that from the deſtruction of the enemy ſhould fall into their hands. This being ſatisfactorily ſettled, he drew out his knife, cut off his noſe, and ears, maiming himſelf alſo in other parts of the body; and thus disfigured deſerted to Darius: who gave credit to his complaints of the cruel treatment he had received from the Saccian king. But, added he, by the eternal fire, and the ſacred water, I ſwear, that by the Perſians I will have my revenge. And it is in your power, by the means I will explain to you, to give the glorious revenge I aſk. Tomorrow night the Saccæ mean to ſhift their camp: I know the ſpot where they intend to poſt themſelves; and can conduct you to it by a nearer way, than they will take; where as in a net you ſhall incloſe them. I am a horſe-keeper; and know every ſtep of the country for many miles around. But it will be

be neceſſary to take with us water and proviſion for ſeven days: for this purpoſe order preparations to be made: no time is to be loſt. Having accordingly conducted the army, in a march of ſeven days, into the moſt barren and ſandy part of Media; when both their water and proviſions began to run ſhort: the Chiliarch Rhanoſbates, ſuſpecting the treachery of their conductor, took him aſide, and expoſtulated with him. What could induce you, ſaid he, to deceive ſo powerful a monarch, and ſo numerous an army? You have brought us to a place deſtitute of every neceſſary of life. Neither beaſt, nor bird inhabits it: nor do we know whither to proceed, or how to return. Riſaces, clapping his hands, anſwered him with an effuſion of laughter, I have gained a noble victory: I have ſaved my country from impending danger; and by famine and thirſt conſigned the Perſian army to deſtruction. The Chiliarch enraged immediately ſtruck off his head. Darius fixed his ſceptre in the ground, tying round it his tiara and the royal diadem; and climbing an eminence, implored Apollo in this moment of diſtreſs to preſerve his army, and give them water. The god heard his prayers; and a plentiful ſhower enſued: which they received on hides, and in vaſes; and ſubſiſted on it, till they reached the Bactrum: when in the preſervation, they had experienced, they acknowledged the favour of the god. But though the device of the horſe-keeper in this inſtance failed; Zopirus afterwards copied it with ſucceſs againſt the Babylonians.

CHAP. XII.

ZOPIRUS.

DARIUS having long laid before Babylon, without being able to carry it; Zopirus, one of his peers, miſerably mangled his face, and fled to the enemy as a deſerter: pretending to have been thus cruelly treated by Darius. The Babylonians credited the veracity of his com-

plaints; which in his appearance they ſaw ſo plainly written: took him into their protection, and their confidence in him by degrees increaſing, they at laſt gave him the direction of the city. Inveſted with this power, he ſoon found means in the night to throw open the gates; and put Darius in poſſeſſion of Babylon: who expreſſed himſelf on the occaſion in a manner worthy a great and generous prince. I would not, ſaid he, for twenty Babylons ſee Zopirus ſo disfigured as he is.

CHAP. XIII.

ARTAXERXES.*

KING Artaxerxes ordered Orontes to ſend to him Teribazus, a grandee of Cyprus. Orontes, who was afraid of Teribazus, dared not to employ force againſt him; but took him by the following device. Under a particular room in his houſe there was a dungeon: over the mouth of which he directed a triclinium to be placed, but not faſtened down; and to be covered with embroidered tapeſtry. Hither he invited Teribazus, pretending to have ſome private buſineſs to communicate to him: when throwing himſelf on the triclinium, that was prepared for him, it ſunk down with him into the dungeon. Thus was he taken; and ſent in chains to the king.

CHAP. XIV.

ORONTES.

ORONTES, having revolted from the king, carried on a flying war with his generals: and being driven to mount Tmolus, he there ſtrongly

* This ſtratagem appears to me more properly to belong to Orontes, than Artaxerxes. Eſpecially as we find the ſtratagems of Artaxerxes recorded afterwards, Ch. XVI.

intrenched

intrenched himſelf. As ſoon as the enemy came up with him, and encamped againſt him, he ſunk a very deep foſſe; and in all the avenues leading to his camp ordered the guard to be doubled. With a choice body of horſe he then ſallied out in the night: and, taking the way to Sardis, fell in with a large ſupply of proviſions, that were deſtined for the enemy's camp; which he ſeiſed, and alſo carried off from the Sardians a conſiderable booty. Of theſe tranſactions he ſent intelligence to the camp; and ordered them the next day to draw out, and advance againſt the enemy: who with great confidence marched out, and attacked them. But no ſooner were they engaged, than Orontes with his cavalry falling upon their rear gained a compleat victory with little loſs: the enemy leaving many dead on the field; and many were taken priſoners.

2. Orontes, with ten thouſand heavy-armed Greeks, engaged Autophradates; who advanced againſt him with the ſame number, and was particularly ſtrong in his cavalry. Orontes bade his men look round, and ſee the extenſiveneſs of the plain: obſerving to them, that if they looſened their ranks, it would be impoſſible for them to ſuſtain the charge of the enemy's horſe. Accordingly preſerving their lines compact and cloſe, they received the cavalry upon their ſpears; who finding they could make no impreſſion on them retreated: when Orontes ordered the Greeks, if the horſe made a ſecond attack upon them, to advance three paces forward, to meet them. They did ſo: and the cavalry ſuppoſing they meaned to charge them, quitted the field, and abandoned themſelves to flight.

3. Having loſt a great number of his allies, which Autophradates had cut off by an ambuſcade, Orontes propagated a report that a body of mercenaries were on their march to join him; and took care that ſuch intelligence, with every mark of confirmation he could give it, ſhould be communicated to Autophradates. In the night he armed the

ſtouteſt of the Barbarians in Græcian armour; and, as ſoon as it was day, poſted them in his army among the reſt of the Greeks, with interpreters who were acquainted with both languages, and repeated in the Barbarian language the ſame commands that were given to the Greeks: and in this order he advanced to battle. Autophradates, ſeeing ſuch a number armed in Græcian armour, concluded he had received the re-inforcement, of which he had been informed: and afraid to hazard a battle at ſo great a diſadvantage, broke up his camp, and retreated.

CHAP. XV.

XERXES.

XERXES, having undertaken an expedition againſt Greece, engaged a number of nations in the enterpriſe; by propagating a report, that he had gained over ſome of the principal Greeks, to betray the country to him. Suppoſing therefore they were marching not to ſubdue a country, but to take poſſeſſion, they were eaſily prevailed on to join the confederacy. And many of the Barbarian ſtates voluntarily offered themſelves as allies.

2. SOME Greek ſpies having been apprehended in the camp, Xerxes, inſtead of puniſhing them, ordered them to be conducted through every par tof it, and ſhewn all his forces. He then bade them go back, and tell the Greeks what they had ſeen, and who it was that ſhewed it them.

3. WHILE Xerxes lay at anchor near Abydos, waiting to intercept the Græcian fleets; a fleet of ſtore-ſhips fell into his hands, laden with proviſions: which the Barbarians propoſed to ſink, with all the men that were on board. Xerxes however would not conſent to it; but brought them to, and aſked whither they were bound. For

Greece,

Greece, anſwered they. And ſo are we, replied Xerxes: the ſtore-ſhips therefore are ours: and be gone. As ſoon as they reached Greece, they ſpread univerſal terror there with the intelligence of Xerxes's invaſion.

4. To conceal the great numbers, that the Barbarians loſt at Thermopylæ, Xerxes ordered the relations of thoſe that were miſſing, to go out in the night, and privately bury them.

5. XERXES not able to bring his numerous army to act at Thermopylæ, on account of the ſtraitneſs of the paſs, loſt a number of Perſians before it: till one Ephialtes, a Trachinian, diſcovered to him a private way acroſs the mountains; through which he detached a hundred thouſand men. Theſe taking a circuit round fell upon the Grecian rear, and cut to pieces Leonidas himſelf, and every man of the little troop he commanded.

CHAP. XVI.

ARTAXERXES.

ARTAXERXES diſpatched Tithrauſtus to ſeiſe Tiſaphernes: and charged him with two letters, one to Tiſaphernes himſelf, inveſting him with the command of the expedition againſt the Greeks; and another to Ariæus, directing him to aſſiſt Tithrauſtus in apprehending him. As ſoon as Ariæus, who then reſided at Colaſæ, a city of Phrygia, had read the letter, he ſent to Tiſaphernes, deſiring a conference with him on buſineſs of importance, and particularly on ſome matters of concern relative to Greece. Entertaining no ſuſpicion of any deſigns being formed againſt him, he left his forces at Sardis; and attended by a body of three hundred Arcadians and Mileſians inſtantly repaired to Ariæus: where after his journey he laid aſide his ſcimitar, and went into the bath. Ariæus with his ſervants ruſhed ſuddenly upon

upon him, and ſeiſed him; then put him into a covered carriage, and delivered him up to Tithrauſtus: who conveyed him to Celænæ, there ſtruck off his head, and carried it to the king. Artaxerxes ſent it to his mother Paraſatis, who had long wiſhed to ſee the death of Cyrus revenged on Tiſaphernes. Nor did the mothers and wives of all the Greeks, who had followed Cyrus, expreſs leſs ſatisfaction at the puniſhment of a man; that had with ſo great treachery circumvented their ſons and huſbands.

2. ARTAXERXES by every means endeavoured to promote wars amongſt the Greeks; and was always ready to aſſiſt the conquered party: for by throwing in aſſiſtance to the weaker power, he placed them on a nearer equality; and thereby the more effectually exhauſted the victor's ſtrength.

CHAP. XVII.

OCHUS.

AFTER the death of Artaxerxes, Ochus his ſon, ſenſible that he ſhould not immediately have that influence over his ſubjects, which his father had, prevailed on the eunuchs, his chamberlain, and the captain of his guard, to conceal his death for the ſpace of ten months. And in the mean time he wrote circular letters in his father's name, and ſealed them with the royal ſignet, commanding all his ſubjects to acknowledge Ochus as their king, and as ſuch to pay him obedience. The mandate was univerſally complied with: when Ochus acknowledged his father's death; and ordered a general mourning for him according to the cuſtom of Perſia.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

TISAPHERNES.

TISAPHERNES affected a particular friendſhip with Clearchus, admitted him to his female parties, and pretended to treat him with ſingular reſpect. The ſame regard he alſo profeſſed for the other Græcian generals; and ſent them an invitation: which was accepted by Proxenus the Bœotian, Menon the Theſſalian, Agis the Arcadian, and Socrates the Achaian, who, attended by twenty captains of companies, and two hundred ſoldiers, were introduced to him. The generals Tiſaphernes ſent in chains to the king; and maſſacred all the reſt.

2. TISAPHERNES meditated a deſign of invading Miletum, and ſeiſing all the deſerters, that had taken refuge there. But being at the time unprepared for ſuch an expedition, he induſtriouſly propagated the report of his having it in contemplation: ſo that the Mileſians removed all their property from the country into the city. And as ſoon as he was really prepared for the enterpriſe, he pretended to drop it, and diſbanded his army; but with private orders for no ſoldier to remove to any conſiderable diſtance. As ſoon as the Mileſians ſaw his army diſbanded; weary of having been ſo long in a ſtate of impriſonment in the city, they ventured out into the country as pleaſure invited, or buſineſs called them. When inſtantly collecting his forces, he ſurpriſed them, diſperſed up and down in their fields and vineyards, and put all he met to the ſword.

CHAP. XIX.

PHARNABAZUS.

PHARNABAZUS having preferred charges of miſdemeanour againſt Lyſander, the Lacedæmonians ſent him letters of recall from Aſia. When Lyſander importuned him, to be leſs ſevere in his repreſentation of his conduct, Pharnabazus promiſed he would: and addreſſed a letter to the Lacedæmonians, of the purport Lyſander deſired. But at the ſame time he privately wrote another letter, giving a very different account. In ſealing the letter, he contrived to ſlip that which he had privately written, and which was in ſhape exactly the ſame with that Lyſander had deſired, in the place of the other; and gave it into his hand. On his return to Lacedæmon, Lyſander, as the cuſtom was, delivered his letter to the Ephori: which as ſoon as they had read, they ſhewed him; obſerving at the ſame time that there was no room for any defence, the very letter, which he himſelf produced, condemning him.

CHAP. XX.

GLOS.

GLOS, while on an expedition againſt Cyprus, ſuſpecting the Græcians that were in his ſervice of having endeavoured to prejudice him with the Greeks in Ionia, to diſcover his enemies, ordered a veſſel to ſail for Ionia. The maſter delayed for ſome days the ſailing of the ſhip, under pretence of manning and victualling it; but in reality to give every one, who might be inclined to write, time to ſend letters by it to their

their reſpective friends. As ſoon as the ſhip had cleared the harbour, the maſter put to land at a particular point according to Gloſs's directions: where he met him, and received all the letters that had been delivered to him for Ionia. In thoſe he diſcovered, who were the perſons inimical to his intereſts; whom he forbore to puniſh immediately, but took the earlieſt opportunities that offered to get rid of them.

CHAP. XXI.

DATAMES.

DATAMES, finding himſelf exceedingly preſſed by his men for their arrears of pay, convened his troops, and harangued them: aſſuring them that, at a place diſtant only three days march, he had great treaſures. Thither therefore, ſaid he, my lads, let us march with all expedition. From the confidence with which he declared it, the army believed the fact: and immediately begun their march. When he came within one day's diſtance of it, he ordered them to halt, and reſt themſelves: while, taking with him ſome mules and camels, he repaired to a temple, decorated with the wealth of the country. There he received thirty talents of ſilver, which on the camels and mules he carried to the army; having firſt filled with it a few vaſes, and taken a great number of others of the ſame ſhape and ſize, that he pretended to be full. Upon his return to the army, he ſhewed the full vaſes to the ſoldiers; who delighted at the ſight gave him credit for what he ſaid of all the reſt. But he told them, that before he could make a diſtribution to each, he muſt go to Amiſus to have the bullion coined into money. Amiſus being many days march from thence, and a place very incommodious to winter in; the troops diſcovered no diſpoſition to ſuch a march, and

troubled him the whole winter with no more importunities for their arrears.

2. DATAMES had formed a deſign againſt the Sinopians: but they having a very ſtrong fleet, and he none, nor any carpenters to build him one, he entered into a cloſe alliance with them: and promiſed to lay ſiege to Seſtos, a place moſt hoſtile to them, and put it into their hands. The Sinopians were delighted with the propoſal; and, in proſecuting the enterpriſe, deſired to aſſiſt him with whatever he might want. He told them he had plenty both of money and men; and that all he wanted was machines, catapults, battering rams, and teſtudos; which would be neceſſary in carrying on the ſiege, and with which he was altogether unprovided. The Sinopians immediately furniſhed him with all the builders and carpenters they had: whom he employed in building ſhips, as well as machines; and having by this means procured a naval force, inſtead of Seſtos he attacked Sinope.

3. DATAMES croſſed the Euphrates, having made war on the grand monarch, and penetrated into his territories; who marched againſt him in great force: but his army being ill ſupplied with proviſions, he was much retarded in his march. Datames in the mean time by the difficulty of procuring forage for ſo numerous a body of troops obliged to make a precipitate retreat before the formidable force, that was brought into the field againſt him, directed his march to the neareſt point of the river he could gain: where he linked two carriages a-breaſt, and to them faſtened two more; and on the bottom of the circumference of the wheels nailed broad boards, to keep them from ſinking in the mud. He then ordered ſome of the ſtouteſt men in his army to ſwim the river, and lead after them a number of the ſtrongeſt horſes that could be picked out: to the horſes the carriages, on which he placed his baggage, were faſtened by ropes; and his men thruſt them into the river, thoſe who were before,

before, and the horſes at the ſame time drawing them forwards. In this manner he croſſed the river without loſs; and, having gained ten days march of the king, effected a ſafe retreat.

4. DATAMES having received intelligence, a ſhort time before an engagement was intended to take place, that deſigns were formed againſt him by ſome of his own ſoldiers, changed armour with one of his officers: who wore his armour; while he entered the battle in a borrowed ſuit. The conſpirators, miſtaking the perſon who wore the royal armour for the king, in their attempt upon him were diſcovered, and taken.

5. HAVING inveſted Sinope, Datames received a letter from the king, peremptorily ordering him to raiſe the ſiege. Unwilling to have it ſuppoſed, he obeyed orders in doing it, as ſoon as he had read the letter, he paid marks of reſpect to it, made a ſacrifice on the occaſion, as having received from the king a ſingular favour, embarked and quitted the enterpriſe.

6. DATAMES, cloſely purſued by Autophradates, reached a river; which not daring to ford in the face of the enemy, he pretended to encamp on the ſide of it. And fixing very high and large tents in front of the enemy, he concealed the horſe and baggage behind them: ordering his men not to unharneſs a horſe, or take off a bridle; and the ſoldiers, not to diſarm themſelves. The enemy, when they ſaw Datames encamped, halted, and encamped againſt him: took their horſes from the carriages, and put them to their fodder; and begun to prepare their ſuppers. Datames, his horſes, men, and every thing in readineſs for croſſing the river, as ſoon as he ſaw the enemy thus diſpoſed of, began his paſſage over it: which, while the adverſary were collecting their ſcattered troops, forming their lines, getting ready their horſes, and arming themſelves, he ſafely effected.

7. IN the midſt of an engagement, a tribune, having deſerted from the left wing to the enemy with a body of horſe, threw the foot into

conſternation: when Datames, running up to the diſpirited troops, bade them preſerve their ranks, and prepare for an attack; for the horſe had by his orders made that movement, in order to take their opportunity of ſupporting the attack of the infantry. The foot believed him; and, to ſnatch the victory from the cavalry, in a cloſe firm body vigorouſly attacked the enemy, and defeated them: nor were they appriſed of the revolt of the horſe, till they had obtained the victory.

CHAP. XXII.

COSINGAS.

THE generals of the Cæronians and Scæboans, nations of Thrace, were choſen from among the prieſts of Juno. And Coſingas, according to the inſtitution of the country, was elected their prieſt and general: whom the army however on ſome diſguſt refuſed to obey. To reduce to order this refractory ſpirit that pervaded the troops, Coſingas built a number of long ladders; faſtening them to one another: and propagated a report; that he had reſolved to climb up to heaven, and inform Juno of the diſobedience of the Thracians. Stupid and ridiculous as thoſe people notoriouſly are, they were terrified with the idea of their general's intended journey, and the conſequent wrath of heaven; implored him to drop his reſolution, and engaged themſelves by an oath implicitly to obey all his future commands.

CHAP. XXIII.

MAUSOLUS.

MAUSOLUS king of Caria, having occaſion for more money than he could venture to raiſe on his ſubjects, aſſembled his friends, and pretended his apprehenſions that the grand monarch intended to ſtrip him of his dominions. He produced to them his treaſures, gold, and ſilver, his horſes, jewels, and whatever he had of value; which he ſaid he meaned to ſend to the king, requeſting him to permit him to enjoy his hereditary territories. His friends, believing the reality of his ſituation according to his repreſentation of it, the ſame day ſent him treaſures to immenſe amount.

2. In order to make himſelf maſter of Latmus, a city ſtrongly fortified, Mauſolus pretended a deſire to cultivate a ſtrict alliance with the Latmians. And with that view he reſtored to them the hoſtages, Hidrieus had taken: and compoſed his guard of Latmians; as men, on whoſe fidelity he could place moſt dependence. In whatever they wiſhed, he made a point to oblige them: and having thus bound them to his intereſt, he requeſted them to ſend him three hundred men as guards for his perſon; pretending buſineſs, that required his preſence at Pygela, and that he was apprehenſive of the ſiniſter deſigns of Phytus the Epheſian. They immediately ſent him the complement required; with which, and other forces he had in readineſs, he marched to Latmus, on his route to Pygela. The citizens all came out, to ſee the army paſs: when a body of troops, which he had by night placed in ambuſh, ſallied out, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the city; deſerted by its inhabitants, and the gates left wide open. Mauſolus then took a circuit round, entered with all his forces, and added it to his dominions.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

BORGES.

BORGES by the great monarch had been appointed governor of Eion, a city ſituated on the river Strymon: which was cloſely beſieged by the Greeks. Having bravely held out to the laſt extremity, and finding he could no longer defend the city, he determined not to ſacrifice to the enemy his truſt; but ſet fire to it, and with his wife, and children, periſhed in the flames.

CHAP. XXV.

DROMICHÆTES.

DROMICHÆTES was king of Thrace, and Lyſimachus of Macedon: when the Macedonian made war on Thrace; againſt whom Dromichætes employed the following ſtratagem. Æthis, his general, pretended to reſent ſome inſult of the Thracian prince; and deſerted to Lyſimachus: who truſting to his fidelity, gave himſelf up to his direction; till he had brought the Macedonian army into ſuch a ſituation, that they had at once to contend with famine, thirſt, and a powerful enemy. Dromichætes in this ſituation took his opportunity to attack them: defeated the Macedonians with great ſlaughter, and took Lyſimachus priſoner. The Macedonian army is reported to have amounted to a hundred thouſand men.

CHAP. XXVI.

ARIOBARZANES.

ARIOBARZANES was by Autophradates blocked up in Adramyttium by ſea and land: when wanting a ſupply both of ſtores and men, which, the enemy ſo cloſely watched him, he could not get introduced, he directed Pteleuntes, who commanded the garriſon in a neighbouring iſland, to open a correſpondence with Autophradates, and pretend a readineſs to betray to him his truſt. Agreeably to ſuch propoſal, Autophradates ordered the fleet to ſail, and take poſſeſſion of the iſland. An ample ſupply of ſtores and men were in the mean time thrown into Adramyttium: and the fleet returned to their ſtation, without having effected any thing againſt the iſland.

CHAP. XXVII.

AUTOPHRADATES.

AUTOPHRADATES, having undertaken an expedition into Piſidia, marched his army to a defile; which he found the enemy had ſecured, and that, without expoſing himſelf to great loſs, he would not be able to paſs it. He therefore retreated about ſix furlongs back. And as ſoon as night came on, the Piſidians, who had obſerved his retreat, quitted alſo their poſt: when Autophradates with his light-armed troops by an expeditious march paſſed the defile; and, followed by the reſt of his army, penetrated into Piſidia, and laid the whole country under contribution.

2. AUTOPHRADATES, obſerving the Epheſians, who were encamped

camped oppoſite to him, leiſurely walking about, and amuſing themſelves, propoſed a conference with the Epheſian chiefs; which they accordingly accepted. And while he was thus engaged with them, the generals of his cavalry and heavy-armed troops, according to the orders he had given them, ſuddenly attacked the Epheſians; diſperſed in ſtraggling parties, and unprepared for action: part of whom were cut to pieces, and the reſt made priſoners.

3. To induce the mercenaries to take the field, Autophradates procured a report to be propagated; that his pretended expedition was in reality no more than a general muſter of his troops, in order to find pretence for abridging of their pay all who ſhould not make their appearance, and be ready in arms. The men therefore all armed, and attended; expreſſing great alacrity for action. Autophradates immediately marched them out; convincing them, the review they had been taught to expect was againſt a real enemy in the field.

CHAP. XXVIII.

ARSABES.

THE Barcæans, beſieged by Arſabes, ſent an embaſſy to him with propoſals of peace: which he granted them, and in confirmation of it, according to the Perſian cuſtom, gave them his hand. He then raiſed the ſiege, recommended to them a cloſe alliance with the king againſt Greece, and propoſed to them to furniſh him with a number of carriages which he wanted for his Græcian expedition. Agreeable to his propoſal, they ſent ſome of their chiefs to him to concert meaſures for the expedition: whom he courteouſly received, and made a magnificent entertainment for them. He alſo opened a market to all the Barcæans, where in vaſt profuſion things of every kind were expoſed to ſale. They

They accordingly in great numbers came out to purchaſe: when the Perſians, on a ſignal given, poſſeſſed themſelves of the gates, ruſhed into the city, and plundered it; putting all to the ſword, who attempted to make any reſiſtance.

2. ARSABES having revolted from the king, and become maſter of the greater Phrygia, took the field againſt his generals. When having received intelligence, that his own general of the horſe was in the intereſt of his enemies; and had engaged, as ſoon as they came to action, to deſert to them: he went to his tent in the night, and ordered him to be examined by torture. As ſoon as a full confeſſion of the fact had been made, Arſabes commanded his arms and regimentals, as well as thoſe of all the cavalry who were privy to the conſpiracy, to be inſtantly taken from them; and others to be accoutred in them, on whoſe fidelity he could depend. And thoſe he ordered, as ſoon as they ſaw the enemy make the ſignal for a revolt, to obey it, paſs over to them, and fall into their rear. The plan being thus ſettled, Arſabes vigorouſly attacked them in front; the cavalry at the ſame time, who had obeyed the given ſignal, inſtead of aſſiſting, fell upon their rear; the ranks were inſtantly broken, and a general rout enſued.

CHAP. XXIX.

MITHRIDATES.

THE king ordered Mithridates to take Datames, who had revolted, either alive, or dead. With this view Mithridates pretended alſo to revolt; and offered to join Datames. But that cautious general deſired to ſee ſome proofs of his revolt by commencement of hoſtilities againſt the king, before he truſted his profeſſions. Mithridates accordingly begun to ravage the country; he levelled his forts with the ground, burned his

villages, raiſed contributions, and plundered his ſubjects. Having taken ſuch a decided part againſt the royal intereſt, the two generals agreed upon a conference, at which they were to meet unarmed. But Mithridates in the ſpot appointed for their meeting had privately concealed a number of daggers, which he had hid up and down in the ground, privately marking the places where he had concealed them. After they had amicably walked about, and ſpent a conſiderable time in conference; Datames took his leave, and they parted: when Mithridates, haſtily catching up one of the daggers, which he concealed under his left arm, called back Datames; as having ſomething farther to ſay, which he had forgot. He accordingly returned: and Mithridates, pointing to a mountain, told him it would be proper to ſecure that poſt; at which while Datames was very intently looking, Mithridates plunged the dagger into his breaſt.

2. MITHRIDATES had taken refuge in a city of Paphlagonia; where being cloſely purſued, he in the night ſtripped the houſes of their furniture, vaſes, and whatever was valuable, and ſcattered them indiſcriminately about the ſtreets: he then left the city, and made the beſt of his way. When his purſuers the next morning entered the city, and ſaw vaſes and other things of value ſcattered about the ſtreets; they immediately fell to plundering. And though their generals ordered them not to ſtop, but with all expedition to purſue their march: they refuſed to forego for any expectations a certain advantage which they had at hand. Mithridates, having thus gained conſiderable ground of them, effected his eſcape.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

MEMPSIS.

MEMPSIS had been obliged to retreat before Aribœus, who had made war on him; but at laſt determined not to be blocked up in his city. With this purpoſe he brought out whatever was valuable: his wives, his children, and his treaſures he placed without the walls; and deſtroyed the gates. Aribœus ſaw in his conduct the marks of deſperation; and drew off his army: not judging it adviſable to engage an enemy, thus devoted to death, or determined on victory.

CHAP. XXXI.

CERSOBLEPTES.

SOME of the relations of Cerſobleptes, after having embezzled conſiderable ſums of money, revolted from him. He afterwards however found means to recall them to their duty: and, to detach them from each other, he gave them ſeparate governments of cities. After ſome time had paſſed, he ſent orders to have them ſeiſed on pretence of the money they had embezzled, expelled them from their cities, and confiſcated their eſtates.

CHAP. XXXII.

SEUTHES.

SEUTHES, general of the cavalry to Cerſobleptes, at a time of great diſtreſs for money, ſent orders to every huſbandman, to ſow as much land as would require five buſhels of ſeed. And the great quantity of corn, that was from ſuch an increaſe of tillage produced, he carried down to the ſea; and ſold it at ſomewhat leſs than a market price: which immediately threw into the treaſury a very conſiderable ſum.

CHAP. XXXIII.

ARTABAZUS.

ARTABAZUS had beſieged a city, which Timoxenus the Sicyonian agreed to betray to him. Their correſpondence was caried on by a letter fixed to an arrow, which was ſhot at a particular place; and the anſwer by another arrow returned.

2. HAVING ſuſpected Pammenes of holding a correſpondence with the enemy, Artabazus ſent for him on pretence of making largeſſes, and diſtributing corn to the troops. But as ſoon as he entered the camp; he ordered him to be ſeiſed, and delivered up to his brothers Oxythres and Dibictus.

3. ARTABAZUS the ſon of Phærnaces, having eſcaped from Platæa, came to Theſſaly: where when queſtioned by the Theſſalians concerning the battle, afraid to acknowledge the defeat the Perſian army had ſuſtained, he replied, he was on his way into Thrace, charged with ſecret diſpatches from the king. Mardonius ſoon after followed him, with

with the news of the victory he had obtained. Artabazus however had got out of Theſſaly, before the event of the battle was known.

CHAP. XXXIV.

ARYANDES.

ARYANDES, having beſieged Barcæum, in the night opened a foſſe before the walls; over which he placed ſome beams of wood, and covered them with a little earth. Some time afterwards he propoſed overtures of peace to the Barcæans; and concluded a treaty with them upon the foſſe he had made: where he ſwore to adhere to the conditions of it, as long as the ground he ſtood on continued. The treaty thus concluded, the Barcæans opened their gates. When the ſoldiers of Aryandes broke up the foſſe; and the ground, on which the parties ſtood when they formed the treaty, no longer remaining, made themſelves maſters of the city.

CHAP. XXXV.

BRENNUS.

BRENNUS king of the Gauls, in order to induce them to engage in an expedition againſt Greece, convened an aſſembly of men and women, and ordered ſome Græcian priſoners to be produced to them, of mean perſons, and infirm in body, with their heads ſhaven, and ſhabbily dreſt. And by them he placed ſome Gauls; ſtout handſome men, accoutred with Gallic armour. Then addreſſing the aſſembly, ſuch as theſe, ſaid he, are the men we march into the field; and ſuch, as thoſe you ſee, are the enemies, with whom we have to contend. By theſe means the

the Gauls were brought to conceive ſuch a contempt for the Greeks, that they readily offered to ſerve in an expedition againſt them.

2. WHEN the Gallic army marched into Greece; Brennus, ſeeing the gold ſtatues at Delphos, ſent for ſome Delphian captives, and aſked them by an interpreter, if thoſe ſtatues were ſolid gold. Being informed they were only braſs, covered with a thin plating of gold; he told them, he would certainly execute any of them, that ſhould propagate ſuch a report: and ordered them therefore, whenever they were aſked about it, to aſſert the contrary, and to ſay they were all gold. Then ſending for ſome of his generals, he in their preſence again aſked the priſoners the ſame queſtion, he had already put to them; who, as they had been directed, replied they were all real gold. This intelligence he ordered the generals to communicate to the army; that the proſpect of ſo much wealth might ſpirit them up by conqueſt to obtain it.

CHAP. XXXVI.

MYGDONIUS.

MYGDONIUS, when cloſely beſieged, and in great diſtreſs for proviſions, directed parcels of ſtones, and earth, to be brought into the market place; which he made up into maſſes with clay, and covered them over with corn, ſome with wheat, and others with barley. He alſo ordered ſome of the largeſt and fatteſt mules, that could be picked out, to be turned out of the city. Then diſpatching a herald into the enemy's camp, he deſired a deputation might be ſent to treat of a ranſom for the mules, and whatever other property the citizens might have loſt. As ſoon as the deputies arrived, they were introduced into the forum; where Mygdonius attended them. And ſeeing there vaſt heaps of wheat, and barley, and hearing orders given to ſervants to meaſure

out

out great quantities of corn in other places alſo, on their return they gave the enemy an account of the large ſtores, with which the town was provided: who, in confirmation of the report, conſidering the fatneſs of the mules, concluded there was little proſpect of reducing the town by diſtreſs; and therefore raiſed the ſiege.

CHAP. XXXVII.

PARISADES.

PARISADES, king of Pontus, uſed on different occaſions three different dreſſes: one, when he reviewed his troops; another in time of action: and a third, when he was obliged to fly. The reaſons he aſſigned for this cuſtom were theſe: at a review he wiſhed to be known by every individual in his army; in action he wiſhed not to be known by the enemy; and when he was obliged to fly, he deſired to be known by no one.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

SEUTHES.

WHILE the Athenians in petty incurſions ravaged the maritime country at Cherroneſus; Seuthes took into pay two thouſand light-armed Getæ: whom he ordered, in the face of the enemy, to ravage the country, as they did; waſting it with fire, and attacking with darts and arrows the people on the walls. The Athenians from thoſe hoſtile motions doubted not, but they were enemies of the Thracians; diſembarked in order to join them, and boldly marched up to the walls. Seuthes immediately ſallied out of the city againſt them: and the Getæ,

Getæ, advancing as it were to their aſſiſtance, fell upon their rear. Thus attacked on one ſide by the Thracians, and by the Getæ on another, they were moſt of them cut to pieces.

CHAP. XXXIX.

CHEILES.

CHEILES, with ſafety to rid himſelf of three thouſand Perſians, who had been concerned in a revolt, pretended to have received a threatening letter from Seleucus; but told them, by their aſſiſtance he hoped to bring him to reaſon. To concert meaſures for this purpoſe, he propoſed to them, to aſſemble at Randa, a town not far diſtant; where he engaged to meet them. In a cloſe low way near the town is a lake: where Cheiles poſted three hundred Macedonian and Thracian horſe, and three thouſand heavy-armed troops; whom he ordered, as ſoon as they ſaw an iron target thrown up, to ſally forth and cut the Perſians to pieces. The Perſians aſſembled according to appointment: and the plan, which Cheiles had laid, was ſo effectually executed; that not a man of them eſcaped the general maſſacre.

CHAP. XL.

BORZUS.

BORZUS, having received information of a conſpiracy being formed againſt him by three thouſand Perſians, diſcharged, and baniſhed them to a place in Perſia, called Comaſtos; whither they were conducted under a ſtrong guard. The country abounded in villages, was very populous, and the roads were well accommodated with inns. In the towns, where

where they were lodged, ſome taking up their quarters in one inn, and ſome in another; the inn-keepers were commanded by the guard, that attended them, and who ſurrounded the towns, every man to kill his lodgers: who accordingly made them drunk, and executed their orders. Thus were three thouſand murdered in the night, and buried, without tumult or confuſion.

CHAP. XLI.

SURENAS.

CRASSUS, after an ignominious defeat he had received from the Parthians, having retreated to the mountains, Surenas general of the Parthians fearing leſt he ſhould rally his forces, and in deſperation return to the charge, ſent a herald to inform him; that the great monarch was ready to enter into a treaty of peace with him, and that having convinced the Romans of the Parthian courage, he was ready now to convince them of their humanity. Craſſus ſuſpected deſign, and was unwilling to treat with him: but the ſoldiers, whoſe ſpirits were depreſſed and broken, claſhing their arms, inſiſted on his compliance with the Barbarian's propoſal. In ſilent ſorrow he accordingly ſet out for the Parthian camp on foot: when Surenas, who affected to treat him with great reſpect, ſent him a horſe richly capariſoned; which he was deſired to mount. The Barbarian groom then gave the horſe a prick; which made him ſpring forwards: and he would have run with Craſſus, as was intended, into the midſt of the Parthian army, had not Octavius, one of his lieutenants, who perceived the deſign, caught hold on the reins; as did alſo Petronius a Chiliarch. Octavius immediately drew his ſword, and killed the groom on the ſpot: and was himſelf ſlain by a Parthian. Another at the ſame time

fell upon Craſſus, cut off his head and right hand, and carried them to Herod, the grand monarch of the Parthians. The king was at that time engaged at an entertainment: where Jaſon the Trallian was acting the Bacchæ of Euripides. The tragedian had juſt repeated this verſe;

"A new ſkinned calf we from the mountains bring,
"Bleſt ſpoil;"—

when they arrived with the head of Craſſus, and brought it to the king. All was immediately clapping and acclamation: and Exathres jumping up obſerved, the verſe was moſt appoſite to the occaſion. The circumſtance gave a new zeſt to the royal banquet: the king remunerated the bearer with a handſome preſent; and gave the tragedian a talent.

CHAP. XLII.

THE CELTS.

THE Celts having been engaged in a long war with the Autoriatæ, and nothing deciſive effected on either ſide; they poiſoned their proviſions and wine with noxious herbs, and ſuddenly in the night left their camp in confuſion. The Autoriatæ, ſuppoſing they had conſcious of their inferiority made a precipitate retreat, took poſſeſſion of their camp; and rioted on the ſtores they found there: but were preſently ſeiſed with violent chólics; and in that condition the Celtæ ſurpriſed, and ſlew them.

CHAP. XLIII.

THE THRACIANS.

THE Thracians engaged the Bœotians at the lake Copais, and were defeated: they then retreated to Helicon; and made a truce with the Bœotians for a certain number of days, to give time for ſettling the conditions of peace. In reliance on their late victory, and the faith of the truce, the Bœotians celebrated a ſacrifice in honour of Minerva Itonia. But at night while intent on their ceremony, and engaged in the entertainment, the Thracians armed, and attacked them; cut many of them to pieces, and took a great number priſoners. The Bœotians afterwards charged them with a breach of the truce: which the Thracians denied; aſſerting that the terms of the truce expreſſed a certain number of days, but not a ſyllable concerning the nights.

CHAP. XLIV.

THE SCYTHIANS.

THE Scythians, previous to an engagement with the Tribali, ordered their huſbandmen and horſe-keepers, as ſoon as they ſaw them engaged, to ſhew themſelves at a diſtance with as great a number of horſes as they could collect. The Tribali on a diſtant view of ſuch a number of men and horſes, and the duſt they raiſed, ſuppoſing them a freſh body of Scythians advancing to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen, quitted the field, and abandoned themſelves to flight.

2. WHILE the Scythians were engaged in the Aſiatic war, the women, conſidering themſelves as deſerted by their huſbands, had children

by their ſlaves; who, on the return of their maſters, determined to diſpute with them the property they poſſeſſed. They accordingly took the field; and advanced in arms, to give them battle. When a Scythian, fearing leſt if once engaged deſperation might make them brave, adviſed; that they ſhould lay down their arms and bows, and advance againſt their ſlaves with whips in their hands. The idea was embraced: and the ſlaves, confounded with the conſciouſneſs of their ſervitude, immediately threw down their arms, and fled.

CHAP. XLV.

THE PERSIANS.

THE Perſians, ſuſpecting the Samians and Mileſians of ſiniſter deſigns, poſted them by themſelves on the heights of Mycale, on pretence of their being well acquainted with the country: but in reality, to prevent them from infecting the reſt of the Greeks.

2. WHEN the Perſians under Cyrus engaged the Medes; Æbares a ſatrap of Perſia fled the field, and the army followed him. The Perſian women, informed of the defeat, marched out in a body, and met the fugitives: and, lifting up their robes, called out to them, Whither would you fly? Will ye hide yourſelves here, from whence ye came? The women's reproof ſtruck the Perſians with conſcious ſhame. They returned to the charge; and defeated the enemy.

CHAP. XLVI.

THE TAURI.

IT was a cuſtom with the Tauri, a people of Scythia, always before a battle to dig ditches, throw up mounds, and render the ground impaſſable behind: that conſcious of their retreat being thus cut off, they might know no alternative, but victory, or death.

CHAP. XLVII.

THE PALLENIANS.

THE Pallenians, when they ſailed from Troy on their return home, touched at Phlegra. And while the men were engaged in little excurſions in the country, the captive Trojan women, tired with the voyage, and apprehenſive of the ill treatment they might experience from the Græcian dames, at the inſtigation of Euthria, the ſiſter of Priam, ſet fire to the fleet. The Græcians, thus become deſtitute of ſhipping, poſſeſſed themſelves of the region of Scione: in which they built a city, and inſtead of Phlegra called the country Pallene.*

* See a ſimilar account of another party of Trojans: Book VIII. Ch. XXV. Strat. II. which is noticed by Plutarch and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus; as this of the Pallenenſes is by Thucydides.

CHAP. XLVIII.

HANNIBAL.

HANNIBAL having laid ſiege to Salmatis, a great and opulent city in Iberia, agreed with the inhabitants to raiſe the ſiege on payment of three hundred talents of ſilver, and the delivery of three hundred hoſtages. The Salmatians afterwards refuſed to make good the terms of their agreement. In conſequence of which Hannibal detached a body of troops to plunder the town. The Barbarians then petitioned him for permiſſion to leave the city, with their wives, and only the cloaths they wore: ſtipulating to leave behind them their ſlaves, arms, and treaſures. The women accordingly marched out with their huſbands, each carrying concealed a dagger in her boſom. The ſoldiers immediately entered the town, and fell to plundering. When the women gave their huſbands the daggers; who re-entered the city, and, ſome of the women with drawn ſwords attending them, attacked the plunderers, ſeiſed ſome, and drove the reſt out of the city. Hannibal, in reſpect to the reſolution of the women, reſtored to them their hoſtages, their country, and property.

CHAP. XLIX.

THE TYRRHENIAN WOMEN.

THE Tyrrhenians, who inhabited Lemnos and Imbros, having been expelled from their poſſeſſions by the Athenians, landed at Tænarus: and ſerved as auxiliares to the Spartans in the Eilotic war. For this ſervice they were preſented with the freedom of the ſtate, and permiſſion

miſſion to intermarry with them. But in being excluded from the ſenate, and all offices of truſt, they were conſidered as diſſatisfied; and being afterwards ſuſpected of deſigns againſt the ſtate, the Lacedæmonians threw them into priſon. Thither their wives repaired, and requeſted leave of the guards to viſit and converſe with their huſbands. They were accordingly admitted: when they changed dreſſes with them; and in the evening diſguiſed in the women's cloaths, the men made their eſcape: while the women remained in priſon in their huſband's dreſſes, prepared for any event. Nor did the men forget, or deſert their wives; but poſſeſſed themſelves of Taygetus, and engaged the Eilots to a revolt. The Lacedæmonians, apprehenſive that ſerious conſequencss might enſue, ſent an embaſſy with powers to ſettle the controverſy; and reſtored to them their wives. They alſo ſupplied them with money and ſhips: and ſent them out as a Lacedæmonian colony.

CHAP. L.

THE CELTS.

THE Celts, long harraſſed with civil wars, had taken the field againſt each other, and were juſt advancing to battle: when their wives, ruſhing into the field, threw themſelves between the two armies, and intreated them to lay aſide their mutual animoſities. At the inſtance of the women the battle was ſuſpended: and the diſputes of the different parties in the end were happily and amicably adjuſted. Throughout the towns and villages of the Celts ever after, on any conſultation upon peace, or war, concerning either themſelves or their allies, the opinion of the women is always taken. And in their treaties with Hannibal it was ſpecified, that if the Celts ſhould have

have any charge to offer againſt any of the Carthaginians, the diſpute ſhould be referred to their generals and commanders of horſe: but if the Carthaginians had any charge to urge againſt any of the Celts, it ſhould be referred to the determination of the Celtic women.

BOOK VIII.

PROOEMIUM.

THIS Eighth Book of Stratagems I addreſs to your moſt ſacred majeſties, Antoninus and Verus. And having with it finiſhed the collection I promiſed, I have only to wiſh to you ſucceſs in the wars, in which you are at preſent engaged, equal to your military merits, and to myſelf your favourable opinion, that amidſt my civil employs I have devoted my leiſure hours to ſuch purſuits, as may ſerve the Roman empire, and the Greeks, in conducting wars, and regulating treaties of peace. What is won in the field, muſt be ſecured in the cabinet: and he, that excels in both, deſerves immortal glory, and his country's thanks.

CHAP. I.

AMULIUS.

AMULIUS and Numitor were brothers. Amulius the younger kept his brother in captivity, and himſelf mounted the throne of Alba. And to prevent Numitor, who had an only daughter Sylvia, from having any poſterity capable of revenging his uſurpation, he appointed her prieſteſs of Veſta: who in conſequence of that office became devoted to perpetual virginity.

CHAP. II.

NUMITOR.

REMUS and Romulus, ſons of Mars and Sylvia, formed a deſign againſt Amulius: poſſeſſed themſelves of the citadel, and from thence attacked the city. Numitor, who was privy to the conſpiracy, ſummoned the citizens: told them the enemy meaned to attack the city, that Amulius had betrayed the intereſts of it, and fled: but bade them meet him in the market place. The citizens accordingly armed, and aſſembled: when Remus and Romulus, after having ſlain Amulius, marched out of the citadel, harangued the citizens, and told them, who they were, how they had been injured, and the reſolution they had taken to revenge the injuſtice that had been done their grandfather. The people applauded the act, and placed Numitor on the throne.

CHAP. III.

ROMULUS.

THE Romans being in want of wives, Romulus ordered proclamation to be made throughout the neighbouring cities, that he intended a ſacrifice to Equeſtrian Neptune; on which occaſion he meaned to exhibit ſports, and games, and athletic exerciſes, and to reward the victors with magnificent preſents. From the towns adjacent this drew numbers of people of all ranks; men, women, and virgins. Romulus ſtrictly ordered his people to offer no violence either to the men, or matrons, but on a particular ſignal given to ſeiſe the virgins; and that not

not for purpoſes of luſt, but to contract marriages with them. And from theſe marriages the firſt Romans were born.

2. ROMULUS encamped about ten furlongs from the city of the Fidenates, and in the night marched out his forces; forming a narrow front with one half of his troops: and the reſt he poſted in ambuſh, having given his orders to the officers, who commanded the ambuſcade. As ſoon as it was light, he advanced with his little army againſt the gates; which he ordered his pioneers, furniſhed with hatchets and pick-axes, to break down. The Fidenates, enraged at his preſumption and temerity, opened their gates, and without any order ruſhed out, and attacked the enemy; who ſlowly and in good order retreated before them. The Fidenates, ſuſpecting nothing of an ambuſcade, and deſpiſing the paucity of the troops they ſaw, preſſed cloſely on him; preſuming on a cheap and eaſy victory. The commanders of the troops that formed the ambuſh made their men ſit down cloſe, ſo as not to be diſcovered by the enemy: while the Roman army continued retreating, and at a little diſtance wheeled round them; and were purſued by the Fidenates. The ambuſcade, as ſoon as the enemy had paſſed them, ſallied out; and with a great ſhout fell upon their rear, which, already fatigued by a long purſuit, they engaged with great advantage: and thoſe, who before fled, faced about, ſnatched the palm of victory from their purſuers, and made themſelves maſters of the city.

CHAP. IV.

NUMA.

TO form the Romans to the arts of peace, Numa retired into the ſacred temple of the nymphs; and there ſhut himſelf up alone for ſeveral days. And from thence when he returned to the people, he pro-

duced certain oracles, which he ſaid had been delivered to him by the nymphs, and perſuaded them to receive as laws: to which they accordingly paid a moſt implicit obſervance. And the body of thoſe religious inſtitutions, feaſts, ſupplications, ſacrifices, and ceremonies, which are at this day in uſe among the Romans, were framed by Numa; and by the people originally received as the inſtitutions of the nymphs. And in this device I have always thought he had an eye to Minos and Lycurgus. For of theſe the one from Apollo, and the other from Jove, received, or at leaſt profeſſed to have received, the laws; which the one prevailed on the Lacedæmonians, and the other on the Cretans, to accept and obſerve.

CHAP. V.

TULLUS.

IN the reign of Tullus, an engagement was fought between the Fidenates and the Romans; in which the Albans, who were poſted in the left wing of the Roman army, deſerted their poſt in the moment of action, and retired to the mountains. A horſeman rode full ſpeed up to Tullus, to acquaint him with the treachery of the Albans: who in a loud and reſolute tone of voice immediately replied, go back to your poſt; what the Albans have done, they have done by my order, with intention to ſurround the enemy. On hearing this the Romans ſet up a loud ſhout. Their exultation ſtruck terror into the Fidenates; who, ſuſpecting the movement of the Albans to be in reality what Tullus pretended, a deſign to ſurround them, ſought to elude the manœuvre by a precipitate flight.

CHAP. VI.

TARQUINIUS.

TARQUIN tired out with a long war againſt the Gabii, in the courſe of which he had beſieged their city, but had not been able to carry it, ſcourged his youngeſt ſon Sextus; and ſent him over to the enemy in the character of a deſerter. Seeing the marks of cruelty and ignominy, that he carried about him, they doubted not his ſincerity, but received him as a friend. He made profeſſions to them of great ſervices againſt his father; and performed ſome. He ravaged the Roman territories, in frequent ſkirmiſhes defeated the enemy, took ſome priſoners, and returned laden with ſpoils. The Gabii convinced of his ſuperior valour, made him general of their armies, and commander in chief. Thus inveſted with power, he privately diſpatched a meſſenger to his father, to enquire what he would have him do. Tarquin, as they were converſing in the garden, ſtruck off the heads of ſome of the talleſt poppies: then turning to the meſſenger he ſaid, tell my ſon, I would have him do thus. According to his inſtructions, Sextus took means to rid himſelf of the moſt powerful of the Gabii; and, thus reduced to weakneſs, and robbed of its natural protectors, to the Romans betrayed the city.

CHAP. VII.

CAMILLUS.

WHEN Camillus commanded againſt the Falerians; the maſter, to whoſe care the inſtruction of the Falerian boys was committed, led them out of the city, under pretence of exerciſing them: and delivered

livered them up to the Romans. Camillus, in deteſtation of the treachery of the pædagogue, ordered his hands to be tied behind him; and thus diſgraced directed the boys to conduct him to their parents. The Falerians whipped him to death: and ſtruck with the exemplary regard to juſtice and duty, which Camilus had diſplayed, they ſurrendered themſelves to him without riſking a battle. Thus did he by an act of generoſity ſubdue thoſe, who had proved themſelves invincible by arms.

2. The Gauls, under the conduct of their king Brennus, made themſelves maſters of Rome; and kept poſſeſſion of it ſeven months. When Camillus, having collected the forces that were diſperſed in different parts of the country, defeated Brennus, and recovered the city. Thirteen years after the Gauls again ventured to invade the Roman territories, and encamped at the river Aniene, not far from the city. Camillus was on this occaſion a fifth time created dictator; and took the command of the army. Againſt the broad ſwords of the Gauls, with which they aimed their blows at the enemy's head, he made his men wear light helmets; by which the ſwords were ſoon blunted, and broken: and the Roman target, which was of wood, not being proof againſt the ſtroke, he directed them to border it round with a thin plate of braſs. He alſo taught them the uſe of the long ſpear; with which they engaged in cloſe fight, and receiving the blow of the ſword on their target, made their thruſt with the ſpear: while the Gallic ſteel, being ſoft and ill-tempered, the edge of the ſword was by means of the braſs plate ſoon turned; and the weapon became unſerviceable. By this advantage in the arms, the Romans obtained a cheap and eaſy victory; many of the Gauls were cut to pieces, and the reſt ſaved themſelves by flight.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

MUCIUS.

IN a war between the Tuſcans and Romans, when Porſenna was king of the Tuſcans, and Poplicola, then in his third conſulſhip, commanded the Romans; Mucius, a Roman citizen of approved valour, formed a deſign againſt the life of Porſenna: and for that purpoſe entered the Tuſcan camp, imitating the Tuſcan dialect, and habited in a Tuſcan dreſs. And, while the king was ſeated on his throne, attended by his officers, Mucius advanced towards it; and, not knowing the king's perſon plunged his ſword in the breaſt of one who ſate near him, whom he miſtook for the king. He was inſtantly ſeiſed; and confeſſed his intention, and who he was: and while the ſacrifice, according to immediate orders, was offering for Porſenna's ſafety, he thruſt his errant hand into the fire; and with an intrepid voice, and without emotion, converſed with the king, his hand in the mean time broiling in the flames. On Porſenna expreſſing his aſtoniſhment at the intrepidity he diſplayed, Mutius bade him not be ſurpriſed at any extraordinary reſolution he might fancy in him: for, ſaid he, there are at this inſtant three hundred Romans, poſſeſſed of as much courage and reſolution as myſelf, ſtraggling about your camp, and with the ſame deſign. The king gave credit to his aſſertion; and, alarmed for his own ſafety, immediately put an end to the war.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

SYLLA.

1. IN the ſocial war Aldinus, an officer of rank, and advanced in years, was murthered by ſome of his own men, who ſet upon him with ſtones and clubs. Great as the offence was, Sylla neglected to puniſh it, on the principle of making them behave with the greater courage in future; obſerving, that to expiate a great offence, ſo much greater diſplay of military merit would be neceſſary; which in the next engagement proved eventually true.

2. IN an engagement at Orchomenus with Archelaus general of Mithridates, Sylla, perceiving the Romans give ground, leaped from his horſe; and ſeiſing a ſtandard, advanced with it through the flying ſquadrons, and called aloud to them, "My death, O Romans, will be glorious; and when you are aſked, where you betrayed Sylla, ſay at Orchomenus." The reproof ſo ſtung the Romans, that they faced about, vigorouſly attacked the enemy, and changed the fortune of the day.

CHAP. X.

MARIUS.

WHEN the Cimbri and Teutones, a people ſavage in their manners, of immenſe ſtature, with horrid countenances, and a language ſcarcely human, penetrated into Italy; Marius would not venture at firſt a cloſe engagement, but ordered his men to advance no farther than the trenches, and within javelin's caſt ſkirmiſh with them at a diſtance. The Romans, after having been thus familiarized to their figures, ſoon learned

as

as ſavages to deſpiſe them: and deſired Marius to lead them out, and give them an opportunity of ſignaliſing themſelves againſt the barbarous invaders. He did ſo: and of a hundred thouſand of the enemy few eſcaped; the greater part being either taken priſoners, or ſlain.

2. PREVIOUS to an engagement with the Teutones and Cimbrians, who were advantageouſly poſted on the heights of the mountains, Marius ordered Marcellus with three thouſand heavy-armed troops in the night to take a circuit round the mountains, and endeavour to make good their march over the more inacceſſible parts of them, on the enemy's rear. This ſervice performed, he commanded the troops, with which he had advanced to the mountains, to fall back; that the enemy preſuming on their inferiority might purſue them, and be thus decoyed into the plain. The manœuvre ſucceeded; and Marius attacking them in front, and Marcellus in the rear, obtaining a brilliant victory.

3. MARIUS in his war with the Cimbrians, who came out of a cold country, ſenſible that they could bear froſt and ſnow much better than heat and ſun, took the field againſt them in the month of Auguſt; and harraſſed their rear. And when the Barbarians faced about, they met in front not only the enemy, but a hot beaming ſun: to fence againſt the heat and glare of which, they endeavoured to ſhade their faces with their ſhields. This left their bodies bare, at which the Romans aimed; ſlew of them twelve thouſand, and ſix thouſand were taken priſoners.

CHAP. XI.

MARCELLUS.

MARCELLUS at the ſiege of Syracuſe, having been repeatedly beaten off from the walls by the machines of Archimedes, deſiſted for

a time from his attempts to ſtorm the town. Till having taken priſoner Damippus the Spartan, who had ſailed from Syracuſe, and gained intelligence from him of a particular tower on the walls, capable of containing a great number of men, and careleſsly guarded, and that the walls alſo in that quarter were very acceſſible, he ordered proper ladders to be made for an eſcalade; and, while the Syracuſans were engaged in celebrating a feſtival in honour of Diana, and giving a looſe to banqueting and merriment, he made himſelf maſter of the tower: and lining the parapet with his troops, early in the morning he broke open the gates, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the city. The men, who had behaved with great gallantry, required the city to be given up to them to be plundered. But Marcellus, wiſhing to preſerve from acts of outrage the inhabitants, yet at the ſame time unwilling to diſappoint the ſoldiery, gave up to them the money and ſlaves: but forbade any injury being offered to the perſons of the freemen and prieſts.

CHAP. XII.

ATILIUS.

ATILIUS, when a priſoner of the Carthaginians, engaged himſelf by an oath, if they would give him leave to go on his parole to Rome, to endeavour to perſuade the ſenate, to put an end to the war: and, if he did not ſucceed in the negociation, to return. As ſoon as he arrived at Rome, he adviſed the ſenate to the direct contrary: he diſcovered to them the weakneſs of the Carthaginians; and pointed out to them in what part, and in what manner they were moſt open to attacks. The ſenate were convinced of the propriety of his advice, and requeſted him to remain with them, and conſider an oath extorted from him by neceſſity as no oath at all. To the intreaties of the ſenate his wife,

wife, his children, friends, and relations, tenderly embracing him, added theirs. But, deaf to all their pleadings, he diſdained to violate his oath; and returned to Carthage: where he informed the Carthaginians of the ſtratagem he had employed for the ſervice of his country, and the determination of the Romans. In reſentment of his conduct, they threw him into a dungeon; and after ſcourging, and exerciſing various cruelties on him, put him to death.

CHAP. XIII.

CAIUS.

CAIUS had given expreſs orders for every one to continue under arms, and not to ſtir out of the camp: when, in the heat of the day, his ſon led out his horſe to water at a river, that ran cloſe by. The father immediately ordered his head to be ſtruck off for diſobedience of orders: thus enforcing diſcipline by the ſacrifice of his ſon.

CHAP. XIV.

FABIUS.

FABIUS, when he commanded againſt Hannibal, after having been cenſured in the ſenate for not bringing the enemy to an engagement, was preſſed by his ſon to wipe off the aſperſion, and proceed to action. Fabius then, leading him through the army, pointed out to him every part of it, and explained the apparent myſteriouſneſs of his conduct. Obſerve, ſaid he, how many infirm men, how many unfit for action, contribute to form this army: and who would in prudence riſk the hazard of a battle on the proweſs of ſuch troops as theſe?

Every man, that has had any experience in military affairs, knows that we can never depend on bringing our whole force into action: and if ſeparately attacked, in the parts where thoſe men are poſted we muſt be defeated. For this reaſon I ſtudy to avoid a general action; contenting myſelf with harraſſing the enemy in his march, by ſecuring advantageous poſts, and by ſecret negociations winning over cities to revolt from him. Such his conduct was at firſt cenſured as timidity; but afterwards received its full praiſe: the Romans, after other generals had loſt great armies, having recourſe to Fabius; whom they appointed general, and afterwards dictator, and alſo ſirnamed MAXIMUS; which in the Greek ſignifies MEGISTOS.

2. FABIUS having been honoured with the ſirname of MAXIMUS, and Scipio only with that of MAGNUS, Scipio, with ſome degree of pique at the ſuperiour diſtinction of Fabius, aſked him how it was; that he, who had only ſaved the Roman armies, ſhould be ſirnamed MAXIMUS, while himſelf, who in cloſe action had engaged Hannibal, and beat him, ſhould have no higher diſtinction than that of MAGNUS. Why, replied Fabius, if I had not preſerved the men; you would have had no ſoldiers, with whom to have fought and conquered him.

3. FABIUS by ſtratagem made himſelf maſter of the city of the Tarentines, then in alliance with Hannibal. In the army of Fabius was a Tarentine, whoſe ſiſter, a young woman of exquiſite beauty in Tarentum, poſſeſſed the affections of Abrentius, to whom Hannibal had committed the charge of the walls. Fabius, informed of the circumſtance, diſpatched the Tarentine into the city; with inſtructions through his ſiſter to cultivate an acquaintance with Abrentius, and endeavour to bring him over to the intereſts of the Romans. This he effected; and Abrentius having diſcovered to him, in what part the walls might be moſt ſucceſsfully attacked, Fabius there applied his ladders, and took the town by ſtorm. This exploit gained Fabius great reputation;

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in that he had by a ſtratagem got the better of Hannibal, than whom no general had ever employed ſtratagems with greater ſucceſs.

*CHAP. XV.

QUINTUS.

QUINTUS Fabius, when very far advanced in years, in order to get his ſon appointed general, requeſted the Romans not to charge him with the command of their armies: which would in effect, ſaid he, be calling me out in extreme old age to attend him. The Romans wiſhed for nothing more, than to have a man of Fabius's experience to ſuperintend the operations of the army; and therefore inveſted the youth with the ſupreme command. But as ſoon as he was appointed, Fabius excuſed himſelf from attending him in the field: leſt his ſuppoſed conſequence ſhould prove a diminution of his ſon's glory.

CHAP. XVI.

SCIPIO.

SCIPIO, when in Spain, having received information that the enemy had advanced to action before they had dined, drew up his army againſt them, and amuſed them for ſeven hours with various manœuvres: then after they had been thus wearied, and faint for want of refreſhment, he vigorouſly attacked, and eaſily defeated them.

2. SCIPIO expelled all proſtitutes from the camp: bidding them go, and exerciſe their trades in cities, abandoned to eaſe and luxury. He

* This ſtratagem ſhould have made the 4th in the preceding chapter: as it refers to Quintus Fabius, as the other three chapters do. But I follow the Leyden edition of Maſavicius.

ordered

ordered alſo to be ſent away all couches, tables, vaſes, and the whole dinner equipage, except a pot, a ſpit, and an earthen mug. And if any one deſired to be indulged in a ſilver cup; he limited the ſize of it to a pint. The uſe of baths he prohibited: and forbade thoſe, who uſed unguents, to be attended by ſervants in their frictions; obſerving that thoſe might be much more uſefully employed in taking care of the cattle. He obliged the army to cold dinners; allowing the preparation of hot meat only for ſuppers. He introduced the dreſs of the Gallic cloak; and himſelf uſed to wear a black one: and in walking about the camp, if he ſaw any of the generals reclined on couches, he would lament the luxury of the army, and their love of eaſe.

3. SCIPIO obſerving a ſoldier bending under a huge piece of paliſade, called out to him; "Fellow-ſoldier, you ſeem over-loaded." "Indeed I am, 'replied the man." "I ſee it, 'ſaid he:' and am afraid, you place your hopes of ſafety more on your paliſades, than your ſword."

4. SEEING a ſoldier very intent on diſplaying the elegance of his ſhield; "It is a ſhame, 'ſaid Scipio,' for a Roman to pique himſelf more on the ornament of his left hand, than of his right."

5. SCIPIO, interrupted by a commotion of the people, called aloud to them; "The ſhout of an armed foe never terrified me; and the clamour of a mob never ſhall, the baſtard ſpawn of Italy, and not her genuine ſons." The reſolution, with which he expreſſed himſelf, ſilenced the rioters, and quaſhed the commotion.

9. AFTER the taking of Phœniſſa, a city in Iberia, they who had the charge of the priſoners brought to Scipio a virgin of extraordinary beauty. He immediately enquired for her father, and reſtored to him his daughter. The preſents alſo, which he had brought to purchaſe her ranſom, Scipio returned: deſiring him to accept them in addition to her fortune. And whatever other women were taken, whether the wives or daughters of men of any conſequence, he committed them to the

the care of two grave and aged Romans; with orders that they ſhould be entertained in a manner ſuitable to their rank. This eminent diſplay of continence in Scipio won over to the Roman intereſts and alliance a great number of Iberian cities.

7. Scipio, having engaged Syphax king of the Maſſæſyllians in an alliance with him, paſſed over into Sicily. While he was there, Aſdrubal, who had a daughter of exquiſite beauty, promiſed her to Syphax, on condition that he would renounce the Roman alliance. The marriage accordingly took place; and Syphax diſpatched a letter to Scipio, with information of the connection he had formed, and a prohibition of his intended expedition to Libya. Senſible of the great confidence the Romans placed in the alliance of Syphax, and apprehenſive that if appriſed of his revolt they would not venture to invade Libya, Scipio ſummoned a council, and laid before them Syphax's letter; altering the purport of it to the direct contrary of what he had expreſſed: as, that he thereby invited them into Libya, was ſurpriſed they had ſo long deferred their expedition, and obſerved that treaties of alliance ſhould be briſkly executed, or would ſoon be diſſolved. This repreſentation gave new confidence and alacrity to the Romans, who were inſtant with him to fix a day for their embarkation.

8. Some Carthaginian ſpies having been apprehended, inſtead of executing them as the Roman law directed, Scipio ordered them to be conducted through every quarter of the camp. Where after having ſeen the men ſome exerciſed in launching the dart, others in hurling the javelin, ſome again employed in furbiſhing their arms, and others in ſharpening their ſwords, they were again introduced to Scipio: who, after having entertained them at dinner, bade them go, and tell their employer all they had ſeen. The report, which the ſpies made of the magnanimity of Scipio, and the preparations for war they obſerved in the Roman

Roman camp, alarmed Hannibal, and ſtruck the Carthaginian army with conſternation.

CHAP. XVII.

PORCIUS CATO.

WHEN Porcius Cato invaded Spain, ambaſſadors met him from every city, with tenders of ſubmiſſion to him and the Roman people: thoſe he directed within a fixed time to ſend hoſtages. And two of theſe hoſtages from each place he charged with a letter to their reſpective cities: directing them all to be delivered on the ſame day. The purport of the letters was the ſame: "The moment you receive this, demoliſh your walls." The orders being immediate gave no time to one city to conſult another; and each fearing leſt, if the reſt complied with the orders, and they ſhould not, they might be reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery, obeyed the mandate: and in one day every city in Iberia razed their walls.

CHAP. XVIII.

FAUNUS.

IN honour of Diomede, who died in Italy, Faunus inſtituted funeral games. On the firſt day he propoſed to the Greeks to form a proceſſion in arms: the next day he commanded the Barbarians to do the ſame; directing them, for the purpoſe, to borrow arms of the Greeks: with which they were no ſooner furniſhed, than they fell upon the Greeks, and ſlew them with their own weapons.

CHAP. XIX.

TITUS.

CLEONYMUS having made Titus priſoner, demanded for his ranſom two cities, Epidamnus and Apollonia. The father of Titus refuſed to give them up to him; bidding him keep his priſoner. Under theſe circumſtances Titus procured a ſtatue to be made of himſelf in an attitude of ſleep, which he placed in his houſe: and having contrived means, while the centinels were guarding the room where he had placed the ſtatue, to get ſecretly on board a ſhip, he made his eſcape before the deception was diſcovered.

CHAP. XX.

CAIUS.

WHILE the Carthaginian fleet, conſiſting of eighty large ſhips, lay at Tyndarus, Caius with two hundred ſail of triremes endeavoured in vain to bring them to an engagement, deterred by the very ſuperiour number of his fleet. Furling therefore the ſails of one hundred of his veſſels, and ſetting thoſe of the reſt, he concealed one half of his fleet behind the expanded ſails of the other half; and, his line thus formed, ſhewed himſelf to the enemy: who, ſuppoſing the number of his ſhips to be only in proportion to the number of the ſails they ſaw, advanced againſt him, determined to hazard a battle. Caius lay by, till they had approached too near him to eſcape; and then bearing down upon them with all his force obtained an eaſy victory.

CHAP. XXI.

PINARIUS.

THE Ennæans having determined to renounce the alliance of the Romans demanded of Pinarius, prefect of the guard, the keys of the gates. If, ſaid he, the people will aſſemble to-morrow, and a publick decree ſanction the revolt; I will readily obey it, and give up the keys. The next day they accordingly aſſembled: but he in the night placed an ambuſcade at the fort, and detached different parties, to ſurround the theatre, poſt themſelves in the narrow ſtreets, and attentively watch the ſignal that ſhould be given them. The Ennæans aſſembled, according to their engagement, and paſſed a decree confirming the revolt. The prefect of the guard then gave the ſignal: when the men, who were poſted on the eminences near the fort, let fly a ſhower of darts; and thoſe, who were poſted in the narrow ſtreets, with drawn ſwords attacked the people; and ſuch a general carnage prevailed, that none eſcaped, except ſome few who let themſelves down from the walls, or made their way through ſubterraneous paſſages.

CHAP. XXII.

SERTORIUS.

SERTORIUS when in Iberia had a preſent made him by ſome huntſmen of a white fawn: which he brought up ſo tame, that it would follow him wherever he went. When he mounted the tribunal, it mounted it with him; and it would move its mouth to him, before he determined a cauſe. From hence he took occaſion to perſuade the Barbarians,

Barbarians, that it was ſacred to Diana; that through it the goddeſs foretold him all events; and under her auſpices he waged, and conducted his wars. And of whatever ſecrets he poſſeſſed himſelf by his emiſſaries and ſpies, he pretended to have been appriſed of them by this fawn. Of hoſtile attacks, ambuſcades, and ſudden incurſions, he gave out that this meſſenger of the goddeſs never failed to afford him early notice: and his future victories he aſſerted had by his fawn been revealed to him. Rapt in aſtoniſhment the Barbarians paid him abject homage; and reſorted to him as a peculiar favourite of Heaven.

CHAP. XXIII.

CÆSAR.

CÆSAR in his voyage to Nicomedia was taken by ſome Cilician pirates: who demanding a very large ſum for his ranſom, he promiſed to double it. As ſoon as they had made Miletum, and landed there; he diſpatched Epicrates a Mileſian ſervant to the Mileſians, deſiring them to lend him the ſum he required: which was immediately ſent. Epicrates had it alſo in command from Cæſar, at the time when he brought the money, to bring likewiſe every preparation for a magnificent entertainment; together with a water-pot filled with ſwords, and wine with mandrake ſteeped in it. The double ſum according to his engagement Cæſar then paid them; and made them partake of the banquet he had prepared. In high ſpirits at the large ſum they had received, they gave a looſe to their appetite, and drank freely of the medicated wine: which preſently ſet them aſleep. In that ſtate Cæſar ordered them to be ſlain, and immediately repaid the money to the Mileſians.

2. CÆSAR, when in Gaul, arriving at the foot of the Alps,

found the mountains occupied by the Barbarians; who were prepared to diſpute his paſſage. On a minute inveſtigation of the nature of the place, beneath thoſe mountains he obſerved a great number of ſtreams, and of conſiderable depth: from whence riſing the exhalations, that every morning aſcended, formed a thick cloud.* Under cover of that, Cæſar with half his army making a circuit round the mountain reached the heights; the enemy for the thickneſs of the cloud not being able to ſee his movement, but ſuppoſing him ſtill in his camp. As ſoon as he found himſelf above the enemy, he ſet up a loud ſhout; which was returned by the other half of the army below: while the mountains re-echoing on all ſides with the ſound threw the Barbarians into a general conſternation; who precipitately quitted their poſts, and fled, leaving Cæſar to paſs the Alps without moleſtation.

3. In his war with the Helvetians, who to the number of eighty thouſand, twenty thouſand of whom bore arms, had penetrated into the Roman territories in Gaul, Cæſar, as in his engagements with the Barbarians was his uſual method, the firſt day retreated before the enemy; ſuffering a kind of defeat. This imaginary ſucceſs gave them freſh confidence: and they determined to croſs the Rhone in purſuit of him, while he encamped ſome little diſtance from it. The ſtream was rough; when the Barbarians to the number of about thirty thouſand with great difficulty and fatigue paſſed it: the reſt of the army waiting to croſs it the next day. They, who had effected the paſſage, fatigued with the labour of

* Something like the fog, which Cæſar obſerved to riſe in the morning from thoſe ſtreams at the foot of the Alps, ſeems to have been that heavy miſt deſcribed by Polybius, as riſing from the Thraſymene lake; and ſuppoſed to be a principal cauſe of the defeat of the Roman army by Hannibal. Livy too deſcribes it as having been particularly denſe on the plain: ſo that the Romans, who were formed in the valley, could ſee nothing; while the enemy, who were poſted on the eminence, had the advantage of a purer air, and a much clearer view.

the

the day, threw themſelves down on the banks to reſt: when Cæſar in the night attacked, and cut every man to pieces; who had neither time nor opportunity to repaſs the river.

4. Cæsar not thinking himſelf ſtrong enough to engage the Germans, who had offered him battle, contented himſelf with acting on the defenſive: till, having learned that their augurs had forbidden them fighting before the new moon, he took the firſt opportunity to advance and attack them, ſuppoſing they would fight with leſs ſpirit and alacrity, when contrary to the inſtructions of their augurs. The event juſtified his expectations: and, by availing himſelf of an advantageous time for engaging, againſt every other advantage he gained a compleat victory.

5. Cæsar's paſſage over a large river in Britain being diſputed by the Britiſh king Caſſovellaunus, at the head of a ſtrong body of cavalry and a great number of chariots; he ordered an elephant, an animal till then unknown to the Britons, mailed in ſcales of iron, with a tower on his back, on which archers and ſlingers were ſtationed, to enter the river firſt. If the Britons were terrified at ſo extraordinary a ſpectacle; what ſhall I ſay of their horſes? Among the Greeks, the horſes fly at the ſight of a naked elephant: but armed, and with a tower on its back, from which darts and ſtones are continually hurled, it is a ſight too formidable to be borne. The Britons accordingly with their cavalry and chariots abandoned themſelves to flight; leaving the Romans to paſs the river unmoleſted, the enemy thus routed by the appearance of a ſingle beaſt.

6. Cæsar having received intelligence, that Cicero, who was beſieged by the Gauls, would be reduced to a capitulation, if not ſpeedily relieved, diſpatched a ſoldier with orders in the night to hurl a javelin over the walls with a letter tied to it. The letter as ſoon as diſcovered by the guards was carried to Cicero: the contents of which were theſe; "Cæſar bids Cicero hold out. Expect aſſiſtance." Very ſoon after a cloud

a cloud of ſmoak and duſt was ſeen: the harbinger of his approach, who waſted the country as he advanced. The ſiege was immediately raiſed: and Cicero had the ſatisfaction not only to find himſelf relieved, but to ſee his beſiegers defeated.

7. ADVANCING with an army of ſeven thouſand men againſt the Gauls, to make his force appear to the enemy leſs than it really was, Cæſar fixed his camp on a confined ſpot of ground: and with a conſiderable detachment poſted himſelf on an eminence, covered with wood, and there lay concealed. A ſmall body of cavalry marched out of the camp, and ſkirmiſhed with the enemy: who in confidence of their ſuperiority purſued them to their trenches; and begun, ſome to fill the foſſe, and others pull down the paliſades. In the mean time a ſudden charge was ſounded; the foot in an entire body ſallied out of the camp, the ambuſcade poured down from the eminences, where they had been poſted, on the enemy's rear; while the Barbarians, thus vigorouſly attacked on all ſides, were moſt of them cut to pieces.

8. CÆSAR had laid cloſe ſiege to a citadel in Gaul; which the Barbarians with great reſolution defended. But a heavy ſtorm of rain and hail happening to fall, Cæſar obſerved the guards to have been driven by it from the walls and battlements; availed himſelf of the moment, and ordered his men inſtantly to arm, and mount the walls: which they found undefended, and without loſs made themſelves maſters of the place.

9. CÆSAR having undertaken an expedition againſt Gergobia, the largeſt city in Gaul; Vercingetorix, king of the Gauls, took the field, and encamped againſt him. Between the two armies ran a large navigable river; which it was impracticable to ford. Convinced of this, Cæſar made no open attempt to croſs it: which drew on him the contempt of the Barbarians, and gave them confidence on preſumption of their ſecurity. But in the night, he detached into ſome thick woods

two

two legions; who, while Cæſar amuſed the Gauls, marched up the river: and finding the old piles, on which a bridge had been formerly conſtructed, they expeditiouſly cut down a quantity of timber from the wood where they had been poſted, which they threw over the remains of the old bridge, that were left; and over this temporary bridge effected a ſafe paſſage. When advancing immediately againſt the Gauls, they eaſily routed them; aſtoniſhed at the unexpected approach of an enemy, and unprepared to receive them. Cæſar with the reſt of his army effected a paſſage by the ſame way; and by his reſolution and addreſs, and the rapidity of this movement, ſtruck terror into all Gaul.

10. CÆSAR, having advanced to the ſiege of Gergobia, found it ſtrongly fortified both by art and nature. The city was ſituated on a ſteep hill, that had a flat top. The left ſide of the hill was covered with thick trees and underwood; the right was too ſteep to admit acceſs: and one narrow paſs led to it, which the Gergobians with a powerful force commanded. Some of the moſt active and reſolute men, he could pick out, Cæſar armed, and in the night ſecretly poſted in the wood: equipping them with ſhort javelins, and ſuch ſmall ſwords as might not incommode them, by being entangled among the trees; and ordering them not to attempt to advance upright, but to obſerve all poſſible ſilence and creep upon their hands and knees. By break of day they had made good their paſſage through the wood, and reached the ſummit of the hill. Cæſar then advanced with the reſt of his army againſt the right ſide, and drew thither the attention of the Barbarians: while the ambuſcade from the woods formed in good order, and made themſelves maſters of the hill.

11. WHEN Cæſar lay before Alæſia, the Gauls advanced againſt him with an army of two hundred and five thouſand men. In the night he detached three thouſand heavy-armed infantry, and all his cavalry, directing them to take different routs, and about two o'clock the next day

to

to fall upon the enemy's rear, and bring them to an engagement. Himſelf, as ſoon as it was light, drew up his army, and offered them battle: a challenge, which the Barbarians, relying on their numbers, treated with ridicule and contempt. But the detachments appearing in their rear, and advancing with a ſhout of exultation, ſtruck them with terror and conſternation, on ſeeing their retreat thus cut off: and the greateſt carnage enſued, the Gauls till then had ever experienced.

12. CÆSAR formed a deſign to poſſeſs himſelf of Dyrracchium, then in the intereſts of Pompey, and protected by a powerful body of cavalry. But great as their force was, Cæſar found means to baffle it with a handful of men, and a happy ſtratagem. He ordered a ſmall body of cavalry on a handſome gallop to attack them; having detached three companies of foot before them, with orders to regard nothing but to raiſe as great a duſt with their feet as they poſſibly could. The immenſe cloud of duſt that was raiſed, and the confidence with which the horſe ſeemed to advance to the attack, impreſſed the enemy with an opinion that they were in great force: and ſtruck with a ſudden and general alarm they immediately fled.

13. CÆSAR obliged to retreat through a narrow defile had a lake on his left, and on his right the ſea. The enemy hung upon his rear; whom by occaſional halts, quick evolutions, and ſudden ſallies he without much loſs repulſed. But on the ſea ſide Pompey's fleet, that attended him in his march, with their darts and javelins heavily galled him. Againſt this attack Cæſar ordered his men to carry their ſhields on their right hands: which had the deſired effect.

14. WHEN Cæſar and Pompey were in Theſſaly, the latter well ſupplied with proviſion declined coming to an action; while Cæſar, who was ſhort of it, was proportionably anxious to engage. Cæſar uſed every expedient to irritate the enemy; ſometimes ſhifting his camp, to procure forage, and ſometimes retreating. Pompey's army, taking

taking thoſe frequent movements for ſigns of timidity, ſcarcely contained themſelves; and were inſtant with Pompey to lead them againſt the foe. Cæſar continued to retreat before them, till he had drawn them into an open plain: then facing about, fought them gallantly, and obtained a victory.

15. On a ſedition, which appeared to be forming in the camp, the ſoldiers clamorouſly inſiſting on being diſcharged from ſervice, Cæſar with a compoſed and chearful air went into the midſt of them; "And what is it, 'ſaid he,' my fellow-ſoldiers, that you want?" "To be diſcharged from ſervice;" replied they. "Very well, 'ſaid he:' but be adviſed then, citizens, and refrain from ſedition." Piqued at being ſtiled citizens, and not fellow-ſoldiers, they were more clamorous than before; altering their cry of grievance, and ſaying their title was not citizens, but fellow-ſoldiers. Cæſar with a ſmile replied, "If we are fellow-ſoldiers then, let us fight together."

16. In an engagement with the younger Pompey, Cæſar, ſeeing his men give way, jumped from his horſe, and called aloud: "For ſhame, my fellow-ſoldiers: you will not fly, and leave me in the hands of the enemy." The troops felt the reproof, rallied, and renewed the charge.

17. Cæsar ordered his men to be always in readineſs; as in the midſt of a feſtival, or of a ſtorm, by night, or by day, if occaſion required, he might at an hour's notice march them out: and therefore never fixed for his movements any diſtant period, or future day.

18. Cæsar's practice was to make his ſallies on full ſpeed: thereby never giving the enemy time to inſult his rear.

19. Whenever Cæſar ſaw his men under apprehenſions of the enemy's ſuperiority of force; he never endeavoured to diminiſh, but on the contrary exaggerated their ſtrength: that the greater the force

of the enemy, his army might ſee the greater neceſſity for a vigorous exertion.

20. CÆSAR encouraged his men in having their arms richly ornamented with gold and ſilver; not only for the ſake of a ſplendid appearance, but becauſe the more valuable they were, their owners would the more reluctantly part with them.

21. CÆSAR was not very nice in obſerving, or ſcrupulous in puniſhing, petty offences in his men; ſuppoſing that to overlook, or pardon a fault, would be a ſpur to valour. But any one, who was a principal in a ſedition, or had deſerted his ranks, was ſure not to go unpuniſhed.

22. CÆSAR uſed always to ſtile his ſoldiers, fellow-ſoldiers: rendering them by that equality of title more ready to face dangers, and execute his commands.

23. ON receiving intelligence, that ſome troops had been butchered in Gaul; Cæſar made a vow not to ſhave his face, till he had taken ſatisfaction on their murtherers. A diſplay this of his ſenſibility, that won him univerſal eſteem.

24. CÆSAR, when in diſtreſs for proviſions, diſtributed to his men loaves, which were made of herbs. One of thoſe loaves fell into Pompey's hands, who was then engaged in war againſt him: which he concealed; unwilling to produce to his own troops ſo ſtrong an inſtance of the reſolution and continence of the enemy, with whom they were engaged.

25. IN the battle fought between Cæſar and Pompey on the plains of Pharſalia, Cæſar knowing that there were in the enemy's army a great number of elegant young men, who valued themſelves on their perſonal attractions, ordered his men not to aim their ſpears and javelins at the bodies of their enemy, but at their faces. The dread of being

being disfigured drove those from the field, and contributed not a little to the success of the day.

26. After the defeat at Dyrrachium, Cæsar's men surrendered themselves up to be decimated: a punishment however, which he would not suffer to be inflicted; but exhorted them by their future behaviour to retrieve the honour and advantages they had lost. They accordingly in every future engagement, though with superiour force, bore away the palm of victory.

27. While Pompey declared, that he considered all, who attached themselves to neither party, as his enemies: Cæsar on the contrary ordered it to be reported, that all, who did not appear in arms against him, he esteemed his friends.

28. Cæsar, when he commanded in Iberia, made a truce with the enemy: notwithstanding which they exercised hostilities, and cut many of his men to pieces. Instead of retaliating; some prisoners which he had of theirs he set at liberty, and by that act of humanity much ingratiated himself with the foe.

29. Cæsar, after he saw the fortune of the day at Pharsalia decisive in his favour, called aloud to his men, who he thought did not use their victory with sufficient moderation, "Spare the flying foe."

30. After Cæsar had seen all his enemies subdued, he empowered every one of his soldiers to save the life of any Roman he pleased. By this act of beneficence and humanity he ingratiated himself with his soldiers, and restored her exiled citizens to Rome.

31. The statues of Pompey and Sylla, which by their enemies had been demolished, Cæsar ordered to be replaced: an act of moderation that, which gained him much esteem.

32. When the auguries were pronounced adverse; to keep up the spirits of his men, Cæsar used to say, he could render them auspicious whenever he pleased.

33. A VICTIM having been offered, in which no heart was found: "And where is the wonder, 'cried Cæſar,' that a brute animal ſhould be found without a heart?" His men, who had been alarmed at the inauſpicious appearance of the ſacrifice, recovered their ſpirits on the ludicrous turn he gave to it.

CHAP. XXIV.

AUGUSTUS.

THOSE, who in battle evaded action, Auguſtus did not order to a general execution; but puniſhed them with decimation.

2. To thoſe, who through cowardice ſuffered themſelves to be left behind, he ordered barley to be diſtributed inſtead of wheat.

3. IN expoſure of thoſe, who in the army had committed offences, he ordered them to be ſtationed before the general's pavilion on their knees: and ſometimes, to be employed for a whole day in carrying bricks.

4. AUGUSTUS directed his generals always to act with caution: and was continually repeating to them FESTINA LENTE, be active, but not raſh: for a general had better be too cautious, than too confident.

5. THOSE, who had performed any ſignal exploit, Auguſtus never ſuffered to go unrewarded.

6. IN reſpect to thoſe, who without ſome good purpoſe wantonly expoſed themſelves to danger, Auguſtus uſed to ſay; it was like fiſhing with a golden hook.

7. AUGUSTUS, in his war with Brutus and Caſſius, had occaſion to croſs the Adriatic: when the enemy's fleet under the command of Mucius was ſtationed at an iſland near Brundyſium, ready to diſpute his paſſage. Auguſtus advanced in line of battle, directing his courſe along the coaſt of Italy on the right of the Adriatic, as if his

towards the iſland, and with intention to give Mucius battle; and on the ſhips of burden he erected his towers and machines. Mucius from thoſe preparations for action concluded his intention to fight; and therefore ſtretched out into the open ſea, where he might have room to form his line. But Auguſtus, inſtead of engaging, ſlipped into the port, which Mucius had left. While he, having no other port at hand where he could lie ſafe from ſtorms, was obliged to ſail forward to Theſprotis: leaving Auguſtus to croſs the Adriatic without riſk; who from thence paſſed over into Macedonia.

CHAP. XXV.

THE ROMANS.

AFTER the Celts had made themſelves maſters of the city, they concluded a treaty with the Romans on the following conditions: that they ſhould pay them tribute, leave a gate at all times open, and give them a portion of land to cultivate. Theſe terms acceded to, the Celts fixed their camp: and the Romans treating them as friends ſent them various preſents, and ſupplied them with plenty of wine. The Barbarians (for the Celts in particular are ſtrongly addicted to liquor) ſo freely indulged in the wine, that there was ſcarcely a man amongſt them who could ſtand upright. In that condition the Romans attacked them; and cut every man to pieces. And that they might in effect appear to have fulfilled the conditions of the treaty, they conſtructed a gate which was left open on an inacceſſible rock.

2. THE Trojans, who had ſurvived the conflagration of Troy, under the conduct of Æneas anchored at the mouth of the Tyber; and landing there, in detached parties went up into the country. In their abſence the women held a conſultation: when the Trojan Rhome thus addreſſed.

addreſſed them: "Whither are we wandering? How long are we to be toſſed on the ſea? Come on, let us burn the ſhips; and thereby reduce our huſbands to the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing themſelves here." Having thus ſaid, ſhe inſtantly lighted a torch, and ſet one of the ſhips on fire: the reſt of the women followed her example, and demoliſhed the whole fleet. Thus deſtitute of ſhipping, the Trojans through neceſſity fixed themſelves in Italy.

3. CORIOLANUS, after he had been baniſhed Rome, offered his ſervices to the Tuſcans; which they accepted, afterwards conſtituted him general of their forces, and under his conduct in various engagements defeated the Romans. At laſt he advanced againſt Rome, determined to ſtorm the city. A proceſſion of Roman matrons, with Veturia the mother of Coriolanus at their head, advanced to meet the exaſperated foe; and to try the force of entreaties to win him from his purpoſe. They proſtrated themſelves before him, and embraced his knees; Veturia thus concluding their ſupplications: "If however you are determined not to ſpare your country; firſt ſlay your mother, and this venerable band of Roman matrons." Coriolanus moved with compaſſion, dropped a tear, and retreated: affording an eminent inſtance of filial duty, but fatal to himſelf. For the Tuſcans by a publick decree ſentenced him to death, for breach of truſt in deſiſting to proſecute a victory which he had in his hands.

CHAP. XXVI.

SEMIRAMIS.

SEMIRAMIS when in the bath received intelligence of the revolt of the Siracians; and, without waiting to have her ſandals put on, or her hair dreſſed immediately left it, and took the field. Her exploits

are

are recorded on pillars, in theſe words. NATURE MADE ME A WOMAN; BUT I HAVE RAISED MYSELF TO A DEGREE OF RIVALRY WITH THE GREATEST MEN. I SWAYED THE SCEPTRE OF NINOS: AND EXTENDED MY DOMINIONS TO THE RIVER HINAMEMES EASTWARD; ON THE SOUTH TO THE COUNTRY, FRAGRANT WITH THE PRODUCTION OF FRANKINCENSE AND MYRRH; AND NORTHWARD TO THE SACCÆ AND THE SOGDIANS. NO ASSYRIAN BEFORE ME EVER SAW THE SEA: BUT, DISTANT AS THE SEAS ARE FROM HENCE, I HAVE SEEN FOUR. AND TO THEIR PROUD WAVES WHO CAN SET BOUNDS? I HAVE DIRECTED THE COURSES OF RIVERS AT MY WILL: AND MY WILL HATH DIRECTED THEM WHERE THEY MIGHT PROVE USEFUL. I HAVE MADE A BARREN LAND PRODUCE PLENTY, AND FERTILISED IT WITH MY RIVERS. I HAVE BUILT WALLS THAT ARE IMPREGNABLE: AND WITH IRON FORCED A WAY THROUGH INACCESSIBLE ROCKS. AT GREAT EXPENCES I HAVE FORMED ROADS IN PLACES, WHICH BEFORE NOT EVEN THE WILD BEAST COULD TRAVERSE. AND GREAT AND VARIOUS AS MY EXPLOITS HAVE BEEN, I HAVE ALWAYS FOUND LEISURE HOURS, WITH WHICH TO INDULGE MYSELF AND FRIENDS.

CHAP. XXVII.

RHODOGUNE.

RHODOGUNE juſt coming out of the bath, her hair yet undreſſed, received intelligence of the revolt of a ſubjugated nation. Without waiting to have her hair dreſſed, ſhe mounted her horſe, and put herſelf at the head of her army: at the ſame time vowing never to have her hair dreſſed, till ſhe had ſubdued the revolters; which not till after a tedious war ſhe accompliſhed. She then bathed, and had her

her hair dreſſed: from which circumſtance the royal arms of Perſia bear on them Rhodogune with diſhevelled hair.

CHAP. XXVIII.

TOMYRIS.

CYRUS advancing againſt the Maſſagetæ, Tomyris their Queen retreated before him. The Perſian army cloſely purſued her; entered, and plundered, her camp: where they found great plenty of wine, and all ſorts of proviſion; on which they immoderately indulged, revelling all night, as if they had obtained a victory. In that ſituation Tomyris attacked them, and cut them to pieces; being partly buried in ſleep, and partly ſo drenched with wine, and ſurfeited with banqueting, that they could ſcarcely ſtand upright: and Cyrus himſelf was ſlain.

CHAP. XXIX.

NITETIS.

CYRUS king of Perſia demanded of Amaſis king of Ægypt his daughter in marriage. But, inſtead of his own, he ſent him Nitetis the daughter of king Apria, whoſe death he had effected, and mounted his throne. Nitetis had long paſſed for the daughter of Amaſis, after ſhe had cohabited with Cyrus. But after having borne him children, and made herſelf miſtreſs of his affections, ſhe informed him, who ſhe was; that Apria was her father, the king and maſter of Amaſis. And now, ſaid ſhe, ſince Amaſis is dead, it will be a generous act to revenge the injury of my family on Pſammetichus his ſon. Cyrus conſented: but died before the expedition took place. His ſon Cambyſes however

however was prevailed on by his mother to undertake it: which he finiſhed ſucceſsfully, and transferred the Ægyptian ſceptre once more into the hands of the family of Apria.

CHAP. XXX.

PHILOTIS.

THE Latins under the command of Poſthumus made war upon the Romans: at the ſame time offering to form an alliance with them, if they would give them their daughters in marriage; thereby cementing the two nations, as they had themſelves done in the caſe of the Sabines. The Romans were at that time in no condition to engage in a war; and yet were unwilling to part with their daughters. When Philotis, a young and handſome ſlave, propoſed to them to dreſs her, and ſuch other good-looking ſlaves as they could pick out, and ſend them to the Latins in place of their daughters; at the ſame time engaging to let them know by lighting a torch, at what time in the night the Latins went to reſt. Accordingly as ſoon as with their new brides they had retired to repoſe; Philotis lighted the torch, and the Romans ſurpriſed the Latins in bed, and ſlew them.

CHAP. XXXI.

CLOELIA.

THE Romans concluded a treaty with the Tyrrhenians, and ſent as hoſtages for the obſervance of it the daughters of ſome of the firſt families in Rome. Thoſe young women uſed frequently to retire to the Tyber to bathe: when Clœlia, who was one of them, propoſed to

the reſt to tie their cloaths about their heads, and ſwim over the river. The Romans admired their reſolution: but agreeably to the faith of the treaty ſent them all back to the Tyrrhenians. Porſenna king of Tuſcany, on their being introduced to him, aſked who was the propoſer of ſo daring an act. To which Clœlia undauntedly replied, ſhe was. Porſenna pleaſed with her manly ſpirit, preſented her with a horſe richly capariſoned, and with juſt encomiums on their fortitude ſent her and the reſt of her companions back to Rome.

CHAP. XXXII.

PORCIA.

PORCIA, the daughter of Cato, and wife of Brutus, ſuſpecting her huſband entertained ſome deſigns againſt Cæſar, which he would not venture to communicate to her, cut her thigh with a razor: thus giving him proof of the reſolution, with which ſhe could inflict the wound, and bear the pain. Brutus no longer heſitated to diſcover to her the conſpiracy: when carrying her own dreſs to him, he found a ſword privately concealed in it. This Brutus uſed, when with the reſt of the conſpirators he murdered Cæſar. And when afterwards, in conjunction with Caſſius, he engaged, and was defeated by, Auguſtus; and fell upon his own ſword: Porcia firſt endeavoured to ſtarve herſelf. But not being able to effect that by the interpoſition of her relations and domeſtics, ſhe ordered ſome fire to be brought to her, under pretence of uſing ſome unguents: and ſeiſing the burning coals in her hands, ſhe ſwallowed them, before any body that was preſent had time to prevent it. Thus died Porcia; a memorable inſtance of reſolution and fortitude, and of conjugal affection.

CHAP. XXXIII.

TELESILLA.

CLEOMENES king of Sparta having defeated the Argives, of whom more than ſeven thouſand were left dead on the field, directed his march to Argos; in hopes of making himſelf maſter of the city. When Teleſilla, a muſician, put herſelf at the head of the Argive women: who armed, and ſo ſucceſsfully defended the walls, that they repulſed Cleomenes, and the other king Damaratus, and ſaved the city. In memory of this exploit of the women the Argives every month celebrate the feſtival of the Numenia: when the women wear the tunic and robe, and the men the woman's gown.

CHAP. XXXIV.

CHILONIS.

CHILONIS, the daughter of Cleades, and wife of Theopompus, learning that her huſband was made priſoner by the Arcadians, travelled into Arcadia to ſee him. The Arcadians, in conſideration of the affection ſhe had diſplayed, gave her leave to viſit him in priſon: when ſhe changed dreſſes with him; and he by that means effected his eſcape, ſhe in his ſtead remaining in priſon. Theopompus ere long watched an opportunity, and ſeiſed a prieſteſs of Diana, as ſhe was celebrating a proceſſion at Pheneus: and for her the Tegeatæ exchanged Chilonis.

CHAP. XXXV.

PIERIA.

A conſiderable body of the Ionians, that inhabited Miletum, on a ſedition that was formed againſt the poſterity of Neleus, ſeparated and eſtabliſhed themſelves at Myuntes: and there lived in a ſtate of hoſtility with their old countrymen, though not in actual war; but uſed to meet them on feſtivals, and public occaſions. On the celebration of a ſolemn feſtival called NELEIDES, Pieria, daughter of Pythu a man of eminence, went to Miletum: where Phrygius, one of the poſterity of Neleus, met her; and becoming enamoured of the girl, aſked how he could moſt agreeably ſerve her. By giving me an opportunity, replied the maid, of coming hither frequently, and with as much company as I pleaſe. Phrygius underſtood her meaning; effected a permanent peace, and a re-eſtabliſhment of the union of the two ſtates. Famous ever after in the annals of the Mileſian hiſtory became the love of Phrygius and Pieria.

CHAP. XXXVI.

POLYCRETE.

THE Mileſians, aſſiſted by the Erythræans, made war on the Naxians: and Diognetus general of the Mileſians ravaged their country, and brought off conſiderable booty, beſides a number of women, and among them Polycrete; of whom he became enamoured, and cohabited with her not on the terms of a ſlave, but as his wife. In the Mileſian camp was celebrated a ſolemn feſtival; which by the Mileſians

ſians is univerſally obſerved. Polycrete requeſted Diognetus's permiſſion to ſend her brothers a ſmall preſent of the ſumptuous fare that was prepared: and in a cake moulded up a piece of lead; ordering the bearer to tell her brothers, that it was intended only for their uſe. On the lead ſhe inſcribed, that if they would attack the Mileſian camp, they might ſurpriſe the enemy in a ſtate of intoxication and ſleep. The Naxian generals accordingly made the attack; and ſucceeded. Polycrete for her ſervice was highly honoured by her citizens; who at her inſtance preſerved Diognetus, and his fortunes.

CHAP. XXXVII.

THE PHOCÆANS.

THE Phocæans under the command of Phoxus marched to the aſſiſtance of Mandron, king of the Bebracians; who was attacked by the neighbouring Barbarians. Mandron for their ſervice appointed to the Phocæans a part of the country, and city, and invited them to ſettle there. By their courage and conduct they had obtained many victories, and enriched themſelves with great ſpoils: which ſo drew upon them the envy of the Bebricians; that, in the abſence of Mandron, they formed a reſolution to maſſacre them. But Lampſace, the daughter of Mandron, having got information of the deſign, as ſhe could not prevent it, privately diſcovered it to the Greeks: who prepared a magnificent ſacrifice in the ſuburbs, and invited the Barbarians to partake of it. The Phocenſians then divided themſelves into two bodies: one of which ſecured the walls; and the other ſlew the banqueters, and made themſelves maſters of the city. Lampſace they afterwards honourably rewarded, and from her named the city Lampſacum.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

ARETAPHILA.

NICOCRATES, tyrant of the Cirenenſians, among a number of other oppreſſive and atrocious acts, with his own hands ſlew Melanippus, prieſt of Apollo; and married Aretaphila his wife, a woman of exquiſite beauty. She endeavoured by poiſon, and various methods, to revenge on the tyrant her diſtreſſed country, and her huſband's death: for which ſhe was accuſed, and tried. But, notwithſtanding the tortures to which ſhe was expoſed, ſhe confeſſed nothing, but that ſhe had adminiſtered to him a love-potion, in order to fix his affections. By the tyrant's order ſhe was finally acquitted; and on ſuppoſition that ſhe had ſuffered innocently, he afterwards treated her with marks of greater attention and affection. Having a daughter, who was extremely beautiful, ſhe introduced her to Leander, the tyrant's brother: who became enamoured of her, and with the conſent of Nicocrates married her. Influenced by the frequent remonſtrances of his mother-in-law, Leander formed a reſolution to free his country by the tyrant's death: which after much difficulty he found means to effect by the aſſiſtance of the groom of his chamber.

CHAP. XXXIX.

CAMMA.

SINORIX and Sinatus were poſſeſſed of Tetrarchies in Gaul. Camma, the wife of Sinatus, was eſteemed as virtuous, as fair: and was prieſteſs of Diana, an office of the higheſt rank that a woman can hold in

in Gaul. Sinorix conceived a paſſion for her; which he deſpaired of gratifying either by force, or entreaties, while her huſband was alive. Sinatus therefore he procured to be aſſaſſinated: and not long after paid his addreſſes to Camma; who repeatedly rejected his pretenſions. At laſt however at the preſſing ſolicitation of her friends and acquaintance ſhe pretended to conſent: and the day of marriage was fixed. When Sinorix, attended by a great number of Gauls, both men and women, waited on her: who with blandiſhments and tenderneſs accompanied him to the altar. There from a golden cup ſhe drank to him, and bade him partake with her in the draught. He received it with pleaſure, as a token of bridal love; and drank it off. But the bridal cup was a potion of ſtrong poiſon. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw, that he had drank it; falling down on her knees, ſhe with a loud voice exclaimed: "I thank thee, venerable Diana, for granting me in this thy temple a glorious revenge for my murdered huſband." This ſaid, ſhe dropped down, and expired: and the bridegroom at the altar of the goddeſs expired with her.

CHAP. XL.

TIMOCLEA.

TIMOCLEA was ſiſter of Theagnes the Theban: that Theagnes, who fought Philip at Chæronea; when he called out, whither would you purſue me? and was anſwered, even into Macedonia. After his death, when Alexander ſacked Thebes; and ſome were plundering the city in one part, and ſome in another: a certain Thracian, named Hipparchus, entered the houſe of Timoclea; after ſupper forced her to his bed, and alſo inſiſted on her telling him, where ſhe had depoſited her treaſures. She acknowledged, ſhe had vaſes, cups, and other pieces of orna-

ornamental furniture, which on the city being taken ſhe ſaid ſhe had depoſited in a dry well. The Thracian preſſed her immediately to attend him, and ſhew him the place: which ſhe accordingly did; conducting him through the garden, and bringing him to the well. Fearing leſt any one ſhould be beforehand with him, he eagerly entered it: but inſtead of a treaſure, found a ſhower of ſtones: which Timoclea and her ſervants diſcharged upon him, and buried him under the pile. The Macedonians getting intelligence of the tranſaction, ſeiſed her, and carried her before Alexander. When ſhe confeſſed the fact: and ſaid, no terrors would make her repent of having ſo glorioufly revenged the brutal violence, that the Barbarian had offered to her. Alexander applauded her ſpirit; and exempted from the publick calamity not only her, but all who could prove any relation to her.

CHAP. XLI.

ERYXO.

LEARCHUS was declared regent of the Cyrenenſians, during the minority of Battus ſon of Arceſilaus: but intoxicated with power, ſoon became not only a king, but a tyrant; exerciſing upon the citizens the moſt atrocious acts of cruelty and injuſtice. The mother of Battus was Eryxo, a woman of great modeſty and exemplary virtue: for whom Learchus conceived a violent paſſion, and made her propoſals of marriage; on which ſubject ſhe referred him to her brothers. They, as it had been concerted between them and their ſiſter, demurring upon it, ſhe ſent a ſervant to Learchus, acquainting him that her brothers ſeemed to diſapprove of it: but if he would give them a meeting at her houſe, a conference ſhe apprehended might remove their preſent objections. So fair an opening ſeemed to him to promiſe a favourable iſſue.

iſſue. At night he repaired to Eryxo's houſe without a guard: and on entering found there Polyarchus her eldeſt brother, attended by two youths, armed, and in waiting to receive him; who immediately fell upon him, and ſlew him. They then proclaimed Battus king; and reſtored to the Cyrenenſians their antient form of government.

CHAP. XLII.

PYTHOPOLIS.

PYTHES, in his dominions having diſcovered ſome gold mines, ſet all his men at work in digging, ſearching for, and cleaning the ore: no buſineſs but that was carried on either by land or ſea. The people were all uneaſy at the land being ſuffered to lie uncultivated: as in the mean time there was likely to be had no corn, no fruits, nor any thing for the purpoſes of life. The women entreated the wife of Pithes to uſe her influence with her huſband on this ſubject of general complaint. She bade them not be uneaſy; and aſſured them ſhe would. Accordingly ſending for ſome goldſmiths, ſhe ordered them to make her in gold fiſh, ripe fruits, cakes, and meats of various kind. Pythes, on his return from a journey, aſked if ſupper was ready. When a golden table was placed before him, covered with the reſemblance of various eatables, all worked up in gold. Pythes much admired the workmanſhip: then ordered them to be taken away, and the ſupper to be brought. Other diſhes were accordingly ſerved up: and others after them: but in all were ſerved up only the reſemblance of viands in gold. Pythes in a rage deſired her to have done with her ſhew, and let him have his ſupper; for he was fatigued and hungry. You do not conſider, replied his wife, that victuals are ſcarce to be procured. The whole country is employed in ranſacking the bowels of the earth for gold: and unleſs we can eat it,

we muſt all ſoon ſtarve. Pythes, convinced of the propriety of this remonſtrance, ordered the people from the mines; and directed them to employ themſelves in huſbandry, and other uſeful occupations.

CHAP. XLIII.

CHRYSAME.

CNOPUS, deſcended from the family of the Codridæ, made war on an Ionian colony, that had been planted at Erythra. And having been directed by the oracle to commit the conduct of the expedition to a Theſſalian prieſteſs of Hecate, he ſent an embaſſy to the Theſſalians, informing them of the declaration of the oracle; which returned with the prieſteſs Chryſame. Poſſeſſed of great ſkill in the occult qualities of herbs, ſhe choſe out of the herd a large and beautiful bull, gilded his horns, decorated him with garlands, and purple ribbands embroidered with gold, and mixing in his fodder a medicinal herb that will excite madneſs, ordered him to be kept in the ſtall and fed upon it. The efficacy of this medicine was ſuch, that not only the beaſt that eat it was ſeiſed with madneſs; but all, who eat of the fleſh of it, when in ſuch a ſtate, were ſeiſed with the ſame diſeaſe. The enemy having encamped againſt her, ſhe directed an altar to be raiſed in ſight of them; and, every preparation for a ſacrifice being made, the bull was brought out: when, the medicine operating, he broke looſe; and run wild into the plain, roaring, and tilting at every thing he met. The Erythræans ſeeing the victim, intended for the enemy's ſacrifice, running towards their camp, conſidered it as a happy omen, ſeiſed the beaſt, and offered him up in ſacrifice to their gods: every one, in participation of the ſacrifice, eating a piece of the fleſh. The whole army was ſoon after ſeiſed with madneſs, and exhibited the ſame marks of wildneſs and frenzy

the

the bull had done. Chryſame, obſerving this, directed Cnopus immediately to draw out his forces, and charge the enemy. Incapable of making any defence, the Erythræans were cut to pieces; and Cnopus made himſelf maſter of Erythra, a great and flouriſhing city.

CHAP. XLIV.

POLYCLEA.

ÆATUS the ſon of Philip had an only ſiſter named Polyclea, deſcended with him from the Heraclidæ. The oracle having declared, that whichever of the family ſhould firſt croſs the Achelous, ſhould poſſeſs the city, and enjoy the throne; while he was engaged in a war with the Bœotians, who had formerly ſettled themſelves in Theſſaly, and the army was preparing to paſs the Achelous, Polyclea bound up her foot, pretending to have hurt it, and requeſted her brother to carry her acroſs the river. With her deſire, ſuſpecting no deſign, he readily complied, gave his ſhield to his armour-bearer, and took his ſiſter on his ſhoulders: who, as he approached the oppoſite bank, leaped from him on ſhore; and turning to Æatus, "Remember, 'ſaid ſhe,' the oracle; by whoſe declaration the kingdom is mine: for I firſt reached the ſhore." Æatus, pleaſed with the device, and captivated with the girl's addreſs, married, and ſhared the kingdom with her. The product of the marriage was a ſon, whoſe name was Theſſalus: from whom the city was afterwards called Theſſalia.

CHAP. XLV.

LEÆNA.

HOW Ariſtogiton and Harmodius delivered Athens from the tyrant's yoke, is known to every Greek. Ariſtogiton had a miſtreſs, whoſe name was Leæna. Hippias ordered her to be examined by torture, as to what ſhe knew of the conſpiracy: having with great reſolution long borne the various cruelties that had been exerciſed on her, leſt the further increaſe of pain ſhould extort from her any diſcovery, ſhe with her own hand cut out her tongue. The Athenians in memory of her erected in the veſtibule of the tower the ſtatue of a lioneſs in braſs, without a tongue.

CHAP. XLVI.

THEMISTO.

PHILO the ſon of Phricodemus the tyrant became enamoured of Themiſto, daughter of Critho the OEanthian. The tyrant demanded her for his ſon in marriage; and was by her father refuſed. In reſentment of the affront, Phricodemus ordered Critho's ſons to be expoſed to wild beaſts before the eyes of their father and mother: then ſeiſed the daughter, and gave her in marriage to his ſon. Themiſto, thus forced to his embraces, under her robe concealed a ſword; with which in the night, while the bridegroom was aſleep, ſhe ſo ſecretly diſpatched him, that not the leaſt noiſe was heard. She then found means to eſcape out of the houſe, and fled to the ſhore: where ſhe found a boat; went into it, and committing herſelf to the mercy of the wind and waves,

waves, was carried to a city of Achaia, in which was a temple of Neptune: where ſhe took refuge. Thither Phricodemus ſent his other ſon Heracontes, the brother of him that had been murthered, to demand the girl of the Elicenſians: who, in conformity with the tyrant's requiſitions, delivered her up. But the ſhip had ſcarce got under ſail, when a violent ſtorm aroſe; which drove them to Rhium a town in Achaia: where two Acarnanian veſſels, the Acarnanians being at that time at open war with the tyrant, made prize of the ſhip, and carried it to Acarnania. The people there, as ſoon as they were informed of the tranſaction, bound Heracontes, and delivered him up to the diſpoſal of the girl. The tyrant then ſent an embaſſy to her, requeſting his ſon: whom ſhe promiſed to give up, after ſhe had received her parents. Phricodemus accordingly ſent her parents: but the Acarnanians notwithſtanding would not deliver up Heracontes; but ſcourged him, and afterwards put him to death. The tyrant himſelf not many days afterwards fell by the hand of his citizens. And, what is remarkable, the inhabitants of Elice with their city were not long afterwards ingulphed in the ſea, which ſwelled over them by an earthquake: Neptune thus ſeeming to have revenged himſelf on them for the indignity they had offered him, in delivering up a fugitive, that had fled for refuge to his ſhrine.

CHAP. XLVII.

PHERETIMA.

ARCESILAUS ſon of Battus king of the Cyrenians by a ſedition of the people was driven from his kingdom: when his mother Pheretima ſailed to Cyprus, to ſupplicate the aſſiſtance of Euelthon king of Salamis. The Cyprian however was deaf to her entreaties: and Arceſilaus

ſilaus at laſt entered into the ſervice of Greece; where he acquired great wealth, and recovered his kingdom. But being too ſevere in the puniſhments he exacted on ſome of his enemies, he was ſlain by the neighbouring Barbarians. Amidſt all theſe calamities Pheretima did not loſe her ſpirit, but applied to Aryandes an Ægyptian prince; and repeating ſome obligations ſhe had formerly an opportunity of conferring on Cambyſes, ſhe was ſupplied with a powerful force: with which ſhe attacked the Cyrenians both by ſea and land, revenged the death of her ſon, and re-inſtated her family on the throne.

CHAP. XLVIII.

AXIOTHEA.

PTOLEMY king of Ægypt having ſent a powerful force to diſpoſſeſs Nicocles of his kingdom; both he and his brothers, rather than ſubmit to ſlavery, fell by their own hands. Axiothea the wife of Nicocles, emulous of the glorious reſolution of the deceaſed, aſſembled their ſiſters, mothers, and wives; and exhorted them not to ſubmit to any thing unworthy of their family. Accordingly barring the doors of the women's apartments, while the citizens were crowding into the palace, with their children in their arms they ſet fire to the houſe: ſome diſpatched themſelves with the ſword, and others reſolutely leaped into the flames. Axiothea, who was the promoter of the enterpriſe, after ſhe had ſeen them all thus gloriouſly fall, firſt ſtabbed, and then threw herſelf into the fire; to preſerve even her dead body from falling into the hands of the enemy.

CHAP. XLIX.

ARCHIDAMIS.

PYRRHUS king of Epire in a bloody battle having defeated the Lacedæmonians, marched againſt the city: when they came to a reſolution to convey their wives and children to Crete; and themſelves to try the fortune of another battle: determined either to obtain the victory, or at a dear price to ſell their lives. But Archidamis the daughter of king Cleades rejected the propoſal, alledging that Spartan women ought with their huſbands to live, and die. They therefore inſiſted on ſharing in the operations of war: ſome fetched the tools, others dug in the foſſe, ſome again were employed in ſharpening the arms, and others aſſiſted in dreſſing the wounded. The ſpirit of the women gave new reſolution to the Spartans: who again took the field; engaged Pyrrhus, and defeated him.

CHAP. L.

PANARISTES.

ANTIOCHUS, ſirnamed Deus, married Laodice his ſiſter by the fathers's ſide, and had by her Seleucus. He alſo afterwards married Berenice, daughter of king Ptolemy; by whom he had likewiſe a ſon: and dying, while he was in his infancy, he left his kingdom to Seleucus. Laodice not thinking her ſon ſecure on the throne, while the ſon of Berenice was living, ſought means to procure his death. Berenice invoked the pity and aſſiſtance of her huſband's ſubjects: but too late. The aſſaſſins however exhibited to the people a child very like him, they had

had murthered; declared him to be the royal infant, whom they had ſpared; and a guard was appointed for his perſon. Berenice had alſo a guard of Gallic mercenaries; and a fortified citadel appointed for her reſidence: and the people ſwore allegiance to her. By the ſuggeſtions of Ariſtarchus her phyſician, ſhe now conceived herſelf perfectly ſecure; and hoped to reconcile to her all who had before been inimical to her pretenſions. But their object in the oath they had taken to her was only to throw her off her guard: which effected, ſhe was privately aſſaſſinated. And ſeveral of the women, who were about her, fell in attempting to ſave her. Panariſte however, Mania, and Gethoſyne buried the body of Berenice, and in the bed on which ſhe had been murthered, placed another woman in her ſtead; pretending ſhe was ſtill living, and likely to recover of the wound ſhe had received. And of this they perſuaded her ſubjects, till Ptolemy the father of the deceaſed arrived; who diſpatched letters into the countries round in the names of his daughter and her ſon, as if ſtill alive: and by this ſtratagem of Panariſte ſecured to himſelf without a ſingle engagement the whole country from Taurus to India.

CHAP. LI.

THEANO.

THEANO the mother of Pauſanias, after he had been convicted of a deſign to betray the city to the Medes, and had taken refuge in the temple of Minerva Chalciæca, from whence the law ſtrictly forbids to force the ſuppliant, thither immediately repaired; and laid a brick, ſhe carried with her, at the door. The Lacedæmonians, in admiration of her prompt thought and reſolution, carried alſo every one a brick to the door of the temple. And the door way thus blocked up, without forcing

ing the ſuppliant from the altar, the traitor periſhed by being blocked up in the temple.

CHAP. LII.

DEIDAMEIA.

DEIDAMEIA, the daughter of Pyrrhus, attacked and took Ambracia; to revenge the death of Ptolemy. And on the Epirots ſuppliantly ſuing for peace, ſhe granted it only on condition of their acknowledging her hereditary rights, and the honours of her anceſtors. This they engaged to do, without any intention to obſerve their engagement. For ſome of them immediately formed a deſign againſt her life, and bribed Neſtor one of Alexander's guards to murther her: who, ſtruck with her majeſtic dignity, fixed his eyes on the ground as in meditation, and returned without accompliſhing his purpoſe. She then withdrew to the temple of Diana Hegemone, where Milo, who had been guilty of parricide, with a drawn ſword purſued her. She had juſt time to call out, to him,

"Slaughter, thou matricide, on ſlaughter raiſe,"

When Milo aimed a blow, and ſlew her in the temple.

CHAP. LIII.

ARTEMISIA.

ARTEMISIA in the naval battle at Salamis finding the Perſians defeated, and herſelf near falling into the hands of the Greeks, ordered the Perſian colours to be taken down; and the maſter of the ſhip to bear down upon, and attack a Perſian veſſel, that was paſſing by her. The Greeks, ſeeing this, ſuppoſed her to be one of their allies, drew

off, and left her; directing their forces againſt other parts of the Perſian fleet. Artemiſia in the mean time ſheered off; and eſcaped ſafe to Caria.

2. ARTEMISIA, the daughter of Lygdamis, ſunk a ſhip of the Calyndenſian allies, which was commanded by Damaſithymus. The king in acknowledgment of her gallantry ſent her a compleat ſuit of Græcian armour; and preſented the captain of the ſhip with a diſtaff and ſpindle.

3. ARTEMISIA always choſe a long ſhip; and carried on board with her Græcian, as well as Barbarian, colours. And when ſhe chaſed a Græcian ſhip, ſhe hoiſted Barbarian colours; but when chaſed by a Græcian ſhip, ſhe hoiſted Græcian colours; that the enemy might miſtake her for a Greek, and give up the purſuit.

4. ARTEMISIA planted an ambuſcade near Latmus: and herſelf with a numerous train of women, eunuchs, and muſicians, celebrated a ſacrifice at the grove of the mother of the gods; diſtant about ſeven miles from the city. The Latmians came out to ſee the magnificent proceſſion: when the ambuſcade entered, and took poſſeſſion of the city. Thus did Artemiſia by flutes and cymbals poſſeſs herſelf of what ſhe had in vain endeavoured by force of arms to obtain.

5. ARTEMISIA, queen of Caria, fought as an ally to Xerxes againſt the Greeks. And at the famous battle of Salamis, the king acknowledged her to have ſignaliſed herſelf above all the officers in the fleet. And even in the heat of the action obſerving the manner, in which ſhe diſtinguiſhed herſelf, he exclaimed: "O Jupiter, ſurely of man's materials you have formed women, and of woman's men."

CHAP. LIV.

TANIA.

TANIA the wife of Zenis, prince of Dardania, after the death of her huſband, with the aſſiſtance of Pharnabazus governed the realm. Drawn in a chariot, ſhe always went to battle, gave her orders at the time of action, formed her lines, and rewarded every man who behaved well, as ſhe ſaw he deſerved. And, what has ſcarcely happened to any general except herſelf, ſhe never ſuffered a defeat. But Medius, who had married her daughter, and from that near relation might have been ſuppoſed faithful to her, ſecretly entered her apartments, and murthered her.

CHAP. LV.

TIRGATAO.

TIRGATAO, of Mæotis, married Hecatæus king of the Sinti, a people who inhabit a little above the Boſphorus. He had been expelled his kingdom; but was reinſtated in his throne by Satyrus, tyrant of the Boſphorus: who gave him his daughter in marriage; but enjoined him to kill his former wife. As he paſſionately loved the Mæotian, he could not think of killing her; but confined her in a ſtrong caſtle: from whence however ſhe found means to make her eſcape. In fear leſt ſhe ſhould excite the Mæotians to war, Hecatæus and Satyrus made ſtrict ſearch after her: which ſhe happily eluded, travelling through lonely and deſert ways; hiding herſelf in the woods in the day, and purſuing her journey in the night. At laſt ſhe reached the

country of the Ixomatæ: where her own family poſſeſſed the throne. Her father was dead: and his ſucceſſor in the kingdom ſhe afterwards married. She then excited the Ixomatæ to war; and engaged many warlike nations about the Mæotis to join the alliance: when the confederates firſt invaded the country of Hecatæus; and afterwards ravaged the dominions of Satyrus. Harraſſed by a war, in which they found themſelves inferiour to the enemy, they ſent an embaſſy to ſue for peace: accompanied by Metrodorus ſon of Satyrus, who was offered as a hoſtage. This on ſtipulated terms ſhe granted: to the obſervance of which they engaged themſelves by oath. But no ſooner had they made the oath, than they planned ſchemes to break it. Satyrus prevailed on two of his friends, to revolt to her, and put themſelves under her protection; the more eaſily to find an opportunity to aſſaſſinate her. On their revolt Satyrus wrote a letter, to demand them: which ſhe anſwered, by alledging the law of nations juſtified her in protecting thoſe, who had placed themſelves under her protection. The two revolters one day requeſting an audience of her, while one was entertaining her with a pretended matter of importance, the other with a drawn ſword levelled a blow at her, which fell upon her girdle: and the guards immediately ſeiſed, and ſecured them. They were afterwards examined by torture; and confeſſed the whole plot: when Tirgatao ordered the hoſtage to execution; and with fire and ſword laid waſte the territories of Satyrus. Stung with remorſe and ſorrow for the calamities he had brought upon himſelf and country, he died in the midſt of an unſucceſsful war: leaving his ſon Gorgippus to ſucceed him in the throne. Abjuring his father's proceedings, he ſued to her for peace; which on payment of a tribute ſhe granted, and put an end to the war.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVI.

AMAGE.

AMAGE the wife of Medoſaccus king of the Sarmatians, who inhabit the maritime parts of Pontica, obſerving her huſband to be totally given up to luxury, took the reins of government into her own hands. She determined cauſes, ſtationed her garriſons, repulſed the invaſions of enemies; and directed every thing with ſo great ability, that her fame extended through all Scythia. The Cherrhoneſites, who inhabit Taurica, and had been much harraſſed by a king of the adjacent Scythians, had heard of Amage's fame; and requeſted an alliance with her. In conſequence of a treaty formed between the two nations, ſhe wrote to the Scythian prince, not to repeat his ravages in the Cherroneſe: who treated her prohibition with contempt. When with a hundred and twenty men of tried courage, and extraordinary ſtrength, each of them provided with three horſes, in one night and day ſhe ſtretched a march of twelve hundred furlongs; and unexpectedly arriving at the palace, ſlew all the guard. And while the Scythians, confounded as in a moment of imminent danger, conceived her force to be much greater than it really was, Amage ruſhing into the palace, where ſhe had made her firſt attack, ſlew the Scythian, his friends, and relations; and put the Cherroneſites in free poſſeſſion of their country. To the ſon of the Scythian prince ſhe gave his hereditary dominions: cautioning him to take warning by his father's death; and not intrench upon the territories of his neighbours.

CHAP. LVII.

ARSINOE.

ARSINOE, after the death of her huſband Lyſimachus, while the city of Epheſus remained diſtracted with ſeditions, and the faction in the intereſts of Seleucus threw the Lyſimachians from the walls, and ſet open the gates, placed a ſlave in the royal bed-chamber; whom ſhe dreſſed in her own robes, and poſted a ſtrong guard at the door. Then dreſſing herſelf in ragged cloaths, and diſfiguring her face, ſhe paſſed through a private door, run to the ſhips, and going on board immediately weighed anchor and made her eſcape. Menecrates in the mean time, one of the adverſe generals, forced his way into the bed-chamber, and ſlew the ſervant ſhe had left there, miſtaking her for Arſinoe.

CHAP. LVIII.

CRATESIPOLIS.

CRATESIPOLIS, who had long ſought in vain for an opportunity of betraying the Acrocorinthus to Ptolemy, having been repeatedly aſſured by the mercenaries, who compoſed the guard, that the place was tenable, applauded their fidelity and bravery: however, ſaid ſhe, it may not be improper to ſend for a re-inforcement form Sicyon. For this purpoſe, ſhe openly ſent a letter of requeſt to the Sicyonians; and privately an invitation to Ptolemy: whoſe troops were diſpatched in the night, admitted as the Sicyonian allies, and without the concurrence or privity of the guards put in poſſeſſion of the Acrocorinthus.

CHAP. LVIII.

THE PRIESTESS.

DURING the ſiege of Pellene, which was carried on by the Ætolians; from a high hill, oppoſite to the tower where the Pellenenſians uſed to arm, on the feſtival of Minerva the prieſteſs of that goddeſs, who was the talleſt and handſomeſt virgin that could be picked out, according to annual cuſtom, in a full ſuit of elegant armour and a three-plumed helmet led the proceſſion of the day. The Ætolians ſeeing a virgin come out in arms from the temple of Minerva, and advance at the head of the armed citizens, ſuppoſed it was the goddeſs herſelf, who was come to their protection; and immediately raiſed the ſiege. In their retreat the Pellenenſians purſued, and made no ſmall havock amongſt them.

CHAP. XVI.

CYNANE.

CYNANE, the daughter of Philip, was famous for her military knowledge: ſhe conducted armies, and in the field charged at the head of them. In an engagement with the Illyrians, ſhe with her own hand ſlew Cæria their queen; and with great ſlaughter defeated the Illyrian army. She married Amyntas, ſon of Perdiccas; and, ſoon after loſing him, never would take a ſecond huſband. By Amyntas ſhe had an only daughter named Eurydice: to whom ſhe gave a military education, and inſtructed her in the ſcience of war. Upon Alexander's death, in excluſion of the royal family, his generals parcelling out his dominions among themſelves, ſhe croſſed the Strymon; forcing her way in the face

face of Antipater, who diſputed her paſſage over it. She then paſſed the Helleſpont, to meet the Macedonian army: when Alcetas with a powerful force advanced to give her battle. The Macedonians at firſt pauſed at the ſight of Philip's daughter, and the ſiſter of Alexander: while after reproaching Alcetas with ingratitude, undaunted at the number of his forces, and his formidable preparations for battle, ſhe bravely engaged him; reſolved upon a glorious death, rather than, ſtripped of her dominions, accept a private life, unworthy the daughter of Philip.

CHAP. LXI.

PYSTA.

PYSTA the wife of Seleucus, ſirnamed Callinicus, when he was defeated by the Gauls at Ancyra, falling into the hands of the enemy, threw aſide her royal robe, put on the ragged dreſs of an inferiour ſervant, and as ſuch was ſold among the priſoners. After having been conveyed amongſt the reſt of the ſlaves to Rhodes, ſhe there made a diſcovery of herſelf. The Rhodians immediately re-purchaſed her of the buyer, habited her in a manner ſuitable to her rank, and conducted her to Antiochia.

CHAP. LXII.

EPICHARIS.

PISO and Seneca were accuſed of a conſpiracy againſt Nero: and Mellas, a brother of Seneca, having a miſtreſs whoſe name was Epicharis, Nero examined her by torture, concerning what ſhe might know of the plot: which ſhe reſolutely bore without making any diſcovery.

She

She was therefore for the preſent diſmiſſed: but three days afterwards was ordered to be brought again in a litter; in which as ſhe was carried, ſhe pulled off her girdle, and ſtrangled herſelf with it. As ſoon as the men, who had the charge of the litter, had brought it to the place of torture; they ſet it down, and bade Epicharis come forth: but on examining the litter, they found only a dead corpſe. The circumſtance exceedingly irritated the tyrant: finding himſelf thus over-reached by a proſtitute.

CHAP. LXIII.

THE MILESIAN WOMEN.

A GENERAL deſpondency once poſſeſſed the young women of Miletum: many of whom for no viſible reaſon deſtroyed themſelves. A Mileſian woman at laſt adviſed, that thoſe, who were guilty of ſuicide, ſhould be dragged through the forum. The advice was followed; and had its deſired effect: for dread of the ignominy, that would attend their bodies after death, rivetted them to a life; which the horrors of death itſelf could not effect.

CHAP. LXIV.

THE MELIAN WOMEN.

AFTER the Melians under the conduct of Symphæus had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Caria; the Carians, who were ſettled at Cryaſus, grew jealous of their conſequence, and anxious to get rid of them. With that view, they made a publick entertainment, and invited the Melians to partake of it. But a Carian virgin, who had conceived a paſſion for

Symphæus, diſcovered to him their deſign. He then returned anſwer to the invitation of the Carians; that it was the cuſtom of the Greeks to attend no entertainments without their wives. They were therefore deſired to bring their wives with them. The Melians accordingly went, in their tunics, and unarmed: but their wives, every one carried a ſword in her boſom, and placed herſelf by her huſband. In the midſt of the entertainment, obſerving a Carian give a ſignal, the women inſtantly opened their boſoms, and gave every man his ſword: who falling upon the Barbarians, cut them to pieces; and took poſſeſſion of their city and domains.

CHAP. LXV.

THE PHOCÆAN WOMEN.

IN a war, that was carried on with ſo great animoſity between the Phocæans and Theſſalians; that the latter had made a reſolution to give no quarter to any Phocæan that bore arms, and to reduce their wives and children to ſlavery; the Phocæan women previous to the battle collected a great quantity of wood, which they piled up, and mounted it with their children: vowing, as ſoon as they ſaw their huſbands defeated, to ſet fire to the pile, and expire in the flames. This reſolution of the women produced correſpondent bravery in the men: who fought obſtinately, and obtained the victory.

CHAP. LXVI.

THE CHIAN WOMEN.

THE Chians and Erythræans had been long at war about the poſſeſſion of Leuconia; when the Chians, finding the enemy too powerful for them, demanded a truce, and engaged to evacuate the place, taking with them only their cloak and tunic. The Chian women were enraged at the terms: and preſſed the men not to relinquiſh their arms. The men told them, they had engaged by oath to do it. The women perſiſted in their advice, by no means to part with their arms: and propoſed to them, in obſervance of their oath to ſay, by their cloak and tunic they meaned their ſpear and ſhield; it being the cuſtom of their country to call their ſpear a cloak, and their ſword a tunic. The Chians followed the women's advice: and, by thus ſhewing their determination to defend themſelves, became afterwards more formidable to the Erythræans.

CHAP. LXVII.

THE THASIAN WOMEN.

THE Thaſians cloſely beſieged, and in want of cords to tie together the machines, which againſt the enemy's works they erected on their walls; the women ſhaved their heads, and twiſting their hair, made it into bands, which were uſed in framing their machines.

CHAP. LXVIII.

THE ARGIVE WOMEN.

PYRRHUS, king of Epire, having on the invitation of Ariſtæus the Argive undertaken an expedition againſt Argos; the Argives aſſembled in arms at the forum: while the women from the houſe tops with ſtones and bricks attacked the Epirots, and obliged them to retreat; and Pyrrhus himſelf was killed in the attack, by the diſcharge of a brick, which ſtruck him on the temples. The Argive women on this occaſion obtained immortal reputation in the conqueſt and death of Philip, the moſt warlike prince of the age.

CHAP. LXIX.

THE ACARNANIAN WOMEN.

THE Ætolians after a long war with the Acarnanians, were at laſt introduced into the city by treachery. The Acarnanians in the hour of danger fought bravely, but were overpowered. The women got upon the tops of the houſes; and from thence diſcharging ſtones and bricks, killed many of the enemy: and by exhortations, remonſtrances, and ſupplications, when the men before ſuperiour numbers were obliged to retreat, they rallied them, and brought them back to the charge. And at laſt, when every effort failed, and thoſe who ſurvived the carnage were taken; the women clinging to them, whether their huſbands, parents, or brothers, held ſo cloſe, that the enemy unable to ſeparate them, were forced to kill both men and women together.

CHAP. LXX.

THE CYRENIAN WOMEN.

PTOLEMY having made war on the Cyrenians, they committed to Lycopus an Ætolian general the whole conduct of the war. And while the men engaged in the field; the women alſo took their ſhare of duty: they made the paliſades, dug the trench, ſupplied the men with darts, took care of the wounded, and prepared their proviſions. The men at length being moſt of them cut off, Lycopus changed the conſtitution into a monarchy: for which the women ſo perſecuted him with their reproaches, that he ordered many of them to execution, to which they chearfully and gladly ran.

CHAP. LXXI.

THE LACEDÆMONIAN WOMEN.

THE daughters of the Lacedæmonians married the Minyans: who were deſcended from the Argonauts. And in conſequence of theſe marriages, they were by the Lacedæmonians admitted to a ſhare of the government. But not contented with that, they attempted to make themſelves abſolute. The Spartans thereupon ſeiſed them, and threw them into priſon. Their daughters——

[*So far Polyænus. The remainder of the Stratagem is wanting: but may however be thus ſupplied from the fourth Book of Herodotus.*]

The wives of the Minyans, and daughters of the principal Lacedæmonians, entreated permiſſion to viſit their huſbands in the priſon the night before their intended execution: which was accordingly granted. And in the priſon they exchanged dreſſes with their huſbands: who thus furniſhed made their eſcape in women's diſguiſe. They afterwards poſted themſelves on mount Taygetus; and by the intervention of Thera had their wives reſtored to them, with free permiſſion to remove, and ſettle themſelves wherever they pleaſed.

FINIS.



